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# *The Shape of Things*

NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN ADMIRAL DARLAN and the Nazis are still in progress. So far, the concessions obtained by the Vichy representative do little more than give France the privilege of being squeezed to death rather more slowly than heretofore. In accordance with Marshal Pétain's demand for the blind trust of the French people, nothing is being published about the price of German "generosity." Clearly the use of Syrian air bases is only a first instalment. Attempting to justify the accommodation offered to the German air force, which openly violated Pétain's many pledges against taking any action detrimental to France's former ally, General Dentz, Vichy's henchman in Syria, declared that the Nazi planes were all the victims of "forced landings." This impudent excuse is worthy of Goebbels's office and, indeed, may very well have originated there. It is hardly surprising that the British ignored it and proceeded to bomb the bases used by the Germans. By the time this issue appears, undeclared war may have broken out between the French in Syria and the British, for there is every reason to suppose that the former have already gone far beyond refueling Axis planes and are providing equipment to German troops brought in by air. It is also credibly reported that large quantities of French military stores have been dispatched to Iraq. However, despite the backing of the Axis, General Dentz's position is by no means secure. His much-reduced army has been carefully weeded of anti-Vichy elements, but it is doubtful whether it can be relied upon to fight the British. Moreover, while many Syrian Arabs sympathize with the Iraq nationalists, they have their own quarrel with France and may well seize the present opportunity to rebel.

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AT THE SAME TIME THE DIFFICULTIES OF THE British in the Near East have been multiplied by French treachery, and despite some local successes their position is serious if not critical. The arrival of German planes and troops in Iraq, even though in limited numbers, has raised the flagging spirits of Rashid Ali and his followers and is helping to prolong a campaign that Britain can ill afford with so many other vulnerable spots to be

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guarded. It also increases the danger of a general Arab revolt, although this hope of the Axis may be thwarted by the many religious and political rivalries that have long cut across the pan-Arab movement. Some account of these factors is given by Raoul Aglion on page 607. Meanwhile it is worth noting that Ibn Saud, the most astute ruler in the Arabian world, is imitating Brer Rabbit. He has been intensively and expensively wooed by Germany and Italy, but undoubtedly he is well aware of the worth and purpose of their proffered "friendship."

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WITH THE SURRENDER OF THE DUKE OF Aosta at Ambi Alagi the Italian East African empire vanishes, and the King of Italy's title of emperor becomes an empty one. No doubt the simultaneous announcement that a prince of the house of Savoy has been named King of Croatia is intended to compensate Italy by providing it with a new colony. For although Croatia is proclaimed as an independent state, the treaty which it has signed with Rome clearly gives it the status of a vassal. It is deprived of its natural outlet to the sea—the Dalmatian coast, which is now to be annexed by Italy—receiving only special facilities at Spalato and Ragusa, and has undertaken not to create a navy. Further the "independent Kingdom of Croatia," under its terrorist puppet dictator Ante Pavelich, has agreed to "collaborate" with Italy in everything concerning the organization of its army and has promised not to maintain any defense works which might interfere with Italian control of the Adriatic. Finally, Croatia is to be completely dependent economically on Italy and Germany. Already workers are being shipped to the Reich, and both the Axis powers are reported to be requisitioning huge quantities of raw materials, food, and other goods. Price are soaring, and the peasants, distrusting the currencies offered them, are refusing to deliver commodities to the market. It is certain that the majority of Croats, however much they may have been irked by their former domination by Belgrade, will not welcome independence in this guise. Born in terror, the new kingdom seems doomed to a bloody, though probably brief, history.

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TWO OBSERVERS WHO KNOW THEIR NAZIS give expert views, on other pages of this issue, concerning the mystery of Rudolf Hess. Whether his flight was the simple escape of a gangster who was about to be liquidated or part of an elaborate new attempt to revive appeasement is a matter of opinion. It cannot be a matter of known fact, though in either case it seems clear that, as one guesser remarked, the lone Nazi eagle is less confident of a German victory than the lone American eagle. Churchill's delayed statement may clarify the riddle. Meanwhile we are glad that the strange tendency to make something of a hero of Hess has shown a sharp decline.

ONE OF THE MORE ELOQUENT CONTRIBUTORS to this tendency was Hermann Rauschning, who has achieved great prestige as a man of insight and a defender of democracy because he discovered after two years of hand-in-glove collaboration with Hitler that the Nazis were dangerous fanatics. In a long dispatch to the New York *Times* he described Nazi No. 3 as a "desperate patriot" and a "man of the highest bravery" who deserted Hitler when he saw that he was leading Germany to destruction and/or an alliance with Stalin.

> Herr Hess was not only an opponent in war . . . but also a man of good-will, however little I want to whitewash him for his mistakes [*sic!*] and his complicity in Nazi crimes.

Rauschning, of course, is defending himself. That is one phase of his career. But we prefer to his sultry sentimentality the statement of Ernest Bevin, simple and sharp as lightning, which had the effect of clearing the air.

> You will understand my feeling about Hess [he said] when I say it was he who collected every index card of every trade-union leader in Germany, and when the time came they were either sent to concentration camps or murdered.

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ALL KNOWLEDGE OF THE ZAMZAM'S FATE was at first denied by Berlin, but after the press had voiced the mounting anxiety and indignation of America, the Nazi authorities thought it better to admit that the vessel had been sunk by a raider, but that all aboard had been saved. This mitigates an act of piracy but does not excuse it. The Zamzam sailed under the flag of Egypt, a neutral state which the Axis powers had pressed to stay neutral. A majority of its passengers were American missionaries, but there were also on board twenty-four volunteer American ambulance men with their equipment, going to aid the Free French forces in Africa. The German communiqué declares that the ship carried contraband, but this is very positively denied by the American agents for the Egyptian Line. According to Berlin, the passengers and crew have been taken to "somewhere in occupied territory." We trust that the State Department will insist on the immediate release of all Americans among the captives.

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THE PRESIDENT'S RECENT ORDER FOR A tenfold increase in bomber production indicates that he regards heavy bombers as at least a partial answer to the convoy problem. A few hundred of them might enable Britain to carry the war to Germany instead of having to fight chiefly over the British Isles. Even fifty "flying fortresses" in the hands of capable pilots might turn the tables for China against Japan. But the most important thing about heavy bombers, as far as the immediate situation is concerned, is that they do not need to be convoyed. They can be flown directly across. In fact, they can

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be used for convoy work, thus sparing more costly ships. Passage of the Administration bill permitting use of the foreign ships, including the French, recently seized in our harbors, promises to relieve somewhat the existing shipping shortage, and the intercoastal lines have recently placed forty freighters totaling some 300,000 tons in the hands of the Maritime Commission. But more effective means will have to be found for safeguarding vessels if Britain is to pull through the coming fall and winter. If bomber convoys are the answer, a way will have to be found to speed bomber production to a far greater extent than any yet proposed.

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VICHY'S ENTRY INTO ACTIVE ECONOMIC AND political cooperation with the Axis makes it necessary for the United States to reconsider its resources for giving immediate assistance to Britain, since Vichy's aid to Germany will be immediate. To increase production will not be enough, vital though that is; supplies must be released that we have hitherto considered indispensable for our own defense. And beyond the general question of aid to the Axis, Vichy's capitulation raises serious problems regarding Martinique and the other French possessions in the Western Hemisphere. Under the decisions taken at the Havana Conference last year the American nations are committed to the policy of preventing the Axis powers, directly or indirectly, from gaining a foothold in this continent. What action is to be taken in the face of this threat is of course a matter for the Inter-American Committee set up at Havana to decide. Unilateral action by the United States would be wholly unjustified.

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SECRETARY OF STATE HULL'S SPEECH IN observation of National Foreign Trade Week was perhaps more noteworthy for its spirit and intention than for its substance. In the main it was a call to the kind of easy-trading world which Hull has doggedly championed for the past two decades: an end to the dominance of economic nationalism with its excessive restrictions on trade, and to discrimination in commercial relations among countries; availability of raw materials to all nations; protection of consuming countries by regulation of the supply of commodities; and the reorganization of international finance to aid the development of all countries and make possible repayment of debts through trade. The formula may prove too simple for the world that will emerge from the appalling chaos of this war, but the address was none the less of prime importance as the first pronouncement by a responsible American official which could reasonably be considered a statement of war aims. There are plenty of social-minded isolationists in this country who demand war aims without recognizing that one ingredient of war aims is war; there are, on the other hand, plenty of interventionists who think only of beating Hitler and are willing to leave the future to chance. Hull falls into neither of these dangerous fallacies. He made it perfectly clear that the peace he envisioned could never be had without a defeat of the Nazi regime. In this he had the able backing of the President, who opened National Foreign Trade Week with a speech asserting that trade in a totalitarian world "would be merely another weapon for further ruthless aggression," and of Secretary of Agriculture Wickard. Whatever the merits of the Hull proposals—in the main they are good—we rejoice in the inclination to state peace aims now. Americans should know what they are sacrificing for and what they may have to fight for; Germans should know what to expect when they are rid of Adolf Hitler.

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"TRADE UNIONISM IS AN EXTENSION OF democracy from the political into the industrial field. But trade unionism in the narrow sense, indeed even modern industrial unionism, will not be enough unless organized labor assumes certain fundamental responsibilities and for that purpose undertakes an even broader extension of the principles of democracy." We quote a passage from a speech by John Brophy of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, which was remarkable for more than one reason. It committed the C. I. O. to full aid to the defenders of Great Britain; it recorded the specific and impressive plans that the C. I. O. has offered for more efficient production, devised out of the expert knowledge of men whose lives are bound up with production—the Murray plan, the Reuther plan, and the steel-production plan; and finally it projected an extension of production of both guns and butter that would not only fill the immediate needs of defense but insure the nation against another epidemic of post-war misery, economic and social. It was, in other words, an important statement of C. I. O. policy—a policy which might be defined as the determination to turn the imperialist-capitalist war into a struggle for an international democratic economy of abundance. In our opinion that is the only policy by which Hitler can be defeated. Yet Brophy's speech received little or no publicity in a press that hugs its view of labor as a band of irresponsibles exploiting the defense program; just as labor's constructive plans for increased production have had little or no attention from the OPM.

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SOME REVISION OF DRAFT PROCEDURE SEEMS inevitable within the next few months, but reports as to the nature of the changes are conflicting and unreliable. Criticisms of the present draft system concern both the law and its administration. The chief weakness in the law, as shown by experience, is the drafting of men over thirty who have become settled in their careers while there is an abundance of younger men who have

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not yet obtained their first job. General Hershey has asked Congress to authorize the Selective Service to defer older men at its discretion. More serious than the matter of age have been the admitted blunders in administration. Local draft boards have differed widely in their interpretation of dependency, with the result that some have deferred all married men and others accepted them unless dependency was established beyond reasonable doubt. Most serious of all has been the practice of many draft boards of taking skilled workers from the defense industries merely because they did not press for deferment. Local draft boards have recently been specifically instructed to avoid such practices, but the instructions were not sent until shortages of skilled workers appeared as a result of thousands being inducted into the army. A broader conception of the purpose of the draft seems to be needed. At the moment the first line of our defense is in the factories and skilled professions. The draft should be modified to serve this need as well as to provide men for our armed forces.

# *Now We Must Act*

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

IT IS no longer possible to fool ourselves. The small remaining outlying areas of compromise have shriveled into non-existence. The deal between Vichy and Berlin has wiped out the last pretense on which the appeasers could base their miserable maneuvers. The France we honor and love lives only in opposition and latent rebellion. And the France of Darlan and Brinon and Pétain has met its appointed destiny; despite its denials, it has become openly the France of Abetz and Ribbentrop and Hitler. Mr. Roosevelt's appeal to the people of France to resist collaboration with the enemy was strong and moving. But it will mean nothing unless it is backed by actions in this country that speak at least as loud. The seizure of the French ships in American harbors may be a portent of such actions. But time presses; and the people and the opposition leaders in France can be expected to resist the traitors and tyrants who rule them only if they are given reason to hope that resistance can succeed. We must give them solid support, not only noble words. Too many noble words have been spoken in the past; too many hopes raised. The time for that is past, too.

Let's look at the record for a minute: it may clear our brains and strengthen our purposes for the days to come.

The present agony of the world was made by the appeasers. The failure to apply effective sanctions against Italy when it invaded Ethiopia in 1935 not only doomed Ethiopia to defeat; much more important, it notified Hitler that he could go into the Rhineland in 1936, and Japan that it could move into China in 1937. The treacherous non-intervention policy applied to Republican Spain did more than give Hitler and Mussolini their first victory over democracy on the Continent. It led directly to the catastrophe of Munich and to all that has followed. The futile gestures at Geneva against Japan's aggression succeeded merely in driving the Japanese out of the League while assuring them that their plan of conquest would be opposed only by China itself.

It is useful today to recall this history, and to consider American policy in its ugly light. Useful and disquieting. For one also recalls that the policy of the Roosevelt Administration toward the depredations of the dictators, from the invasion of Ethiopia to the capitulation of Vichy, has been a confusing mixture of outspoken condemnation and mealy-mouthed concessions and surrenders. At each crucial milepost on the way to disaster the appeasement state of mind has ruled. In the Ethiopian crisis we combined smug disapproval of Fascist aggression with a refusal to cut off Italy's oil supply. After all, why should we? Neither the oil companies nor the British Foreign Office wanted us to do it. Such an act would have exposed the pretenses of the great powers, which had never seriously intended to implement sanctions but rather, as the Hoare-Laval pact amply revealed, to sell Ethiopia for a mess of Fascist promises.

And what did we do about Spain? An unheard of thing. Our precedent-ridden State Department defied precedent to aid the overthrow of republicanism in Spain. We passed a special resolution, after the rebellion had started, prohibiting the shipment of war supplies to either side in a civil war. That made it possible to do what we had never done before—cut off arms from a legitimate, friendly government facing a military revolt. And so, of our own will, we shared the treachery perpetrated by the French and British appeasers and insured the victory of Franco and his Fascist backers. We might have saved the Spanish Republic. We could certainly have shown up the shameless farce of "non-intervention." But we preferred to trail the Chamberlains and Hoares down the broad road toward Munich. And when, along that road, Chamberlain made his ill-fated pact with Mussolini, the deal received the personal blessing of President Roosevelt. I have often wondered who in the State Department wrote that unbelievable note of congratulation.

Meanwhile Japan continued, as it continues today, to destroy the undefended villages and cities of China with bombs made out of American scrap dropped from planes fueled with American oil. Some women in the United States stopped buying silk stockings, but no oil companies stopped selling oil. And the United States government refused to embargo sales of war material to Japan.

It isn't a policy. It is a state of mind. It prefers to risk total catastrophe rather than an immediate, minor danger or even mere dislocation. Better play safe, is the guiding

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principle of the appeasement state of mind. So it "plays safe" until the nation and civilization itself are threatened with extinction.

Franklin Delano Roosevelt is not an appeaser. But he has acquiesced in the acts of appeasers in both the State Department and in the European democracies. And he must accept responsibility and blame for his acquiescence. His own desires have been on the side of resistance, and it was because the people sensed this that they voted him into office again last November. Every bold move he has made has brought an overwhelming response from the country. Every sign of hesitation or withdrawal has produced a quick reaction of anxiety. The people feel that in these days the safest policy is the boldest. They want no hesitation—and most of all they want no appeasement.

But appeasement still rules a broad area of our national policy. We still sell oil—all but the very best grade—to the Japanese. We still sell scrap—all but a few select varieties—to the Japanese. And at the very same time, while the bombs drop on China, we assure the Chungking government that they can count on our support, and we lend them $50,000,000 to stabilize their currency. But no other help can even approximate the help that an embargo on oil and metals to Japan would give to China.

Why don't we establish an embargo? Because, say the appeasers, Japan would seize the Dutch East Indies if we embargoed oil. (The appeasers had other reasons that satisfied them just as well in the days before Holland was overrun by the Nazis.) And the oil companies would lose a lot of business. And anyhow we are not at war with Japan, and an embargo would be looked upon as an unfriendly act. So the reasons pile up, and Japan is able, with our active help, to go on conquering China and preparing to conquer the Dutch Indies and the Philippines and the rest of the Pacific territories, and ultimately to fight us.

We send food to France, and up to the day of Pétain's capitulation we continued the pretense that the men of Vichy were the rulers of a nation instead of the agents of a conqueror. We have tried, by a diplomatic concession here and a food ship there, to buy Vichy out of the clutches of the German Armistice Commission and the German army. No wonder even the recipients of our bounty sneer at our "humanitarian" gestures. Those gestures are contemptible because they are neither honest charity nor successful strategy.

We send food to Franco's Spain. An important American diplomat in Central America said solemnly to me a month ago: "Thank heaven our State Department has the sense to discriminate between the Axis dictators and Franco. Spain deserves our sympathy and help, and Franco, after all, is a gentleman." I tried to remind him of the hundreds of thousands of Spanish Republicans tortured, executed, or shut up in jail. I mentioned the presence in Spain of uncounted Nazi agents and soldiers and the German guns at Ceuta and Algeciras. He was unconvinced. Spain was a victim not an accomplice; we could win its good-will and save it from the clutches of the Axis. And when the Nazis on the spot and their Spanish supporters usher in the German troops for the occupation of Gibraltar and Spain's bases on the Mediterranean and the Atlantic, this American diplomat and his hundred counterparts in the musty offices of the State Department will be shocked as they were shocked the other day by Vichy's capitulation—and when they have recovered, it may be too late to keep the Nazis out of the Azores and the Canary Islands.

It all goes together, because it is a state of mind. You placate Hitler and Mussolini and Franco and the Japanese. You prefer soft words to hard ones, and words to acts. You try to buy what you dare not command. You refuse to recognize facts when they are uncomfortable; and you always prefer diplomatic maneuvers to sturdy resistance.

Now it is over. The gentlemen of Vichy, whose robes of office have won such unctuous admiration, are finally admitted to be stark naked even by the bemused officials in Washington. Nothing is left for us but the necessity to act, and to plan our actions in the light of one cold, shining fact. In Europe we have only Hitler to deal with. There are Frenchmen left, and no doubt 90 per cent of them hate Hitler with an intensity we cannot even imagine. But there is no France. There are Spaniards, but no Spain. These and the other lands that have been conquered and occupied are no longer nations; they are raw materials and factories and above all bases; and they belong to Adolf Hitler.

Our job is immeasurably difficult and absolutely inescapable. We can no longer dodge and prepare ourselves to act at some remove in the future. Our job is to combine today with Great Britain—and with every existing anti-Nazi element in every country—to defeat Hitler by all the forces at our joint disposal. If this means sending an army to England or Africa we must do it. Certainly it does not mean that now. We have no army ready to send, and if we had, the sending of it would interfere with tasks that need doing immediately and at top speed. But it may mean supplying warships and planes, both to protect the goods we ship to Britain and to prevent the Nazis from seizing new strategic points of attack. Specifically it may mean collaborating with the British fleet and the forces of General de Gaulle to occupy the Portuguese and French islands and the French African ports before the Germans get there.

It means, too, producing goods for the war faster than we have done or thought we could possibly do. It surely means using American ships to carry those goods to the

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fighting fronts; and this in turn makes it necessary to wipe out the last legalistic pretense of "neutrality" that stands in the way of our full aid. It means freezing the credits of the Axis powers and ruthlessly preventing goods from reaching them, by whatever round-about routes. It means breaking off diplomatic relations, which no longer serve even as a useful source of information, and throwing out the agents of our acknowledged enemies. Perhaps more than all, it means carrying on an imaginative political war, in which we make use of every anti-fascist group and individual still free in any country on earth; giving them encouragement and support—and arms, where possible. It means, in short, an acceptance of the total meaning of total war; and this, I am afraid, demands a revolutionary change in Washington. The appeasement state of mind must be blasted out of the places of power or the fascists will win the battles of the future as they have won every major battle in the past.

But this we need not allow. We, the citizens of a free republic, can end the policy of dodging and cringing. We have only to say what we want—out loud and in one voice.

# *Up to Mr. Roosevelt*

THERE are signs that the President's desire for full-capacity operation of our productive machinery for defense is slowly beginning to percolate through the bureaucracy of the OPM. But the response of the dollar-a-year men is still "too little and too late," in the manner of their counterparts in the democracies abroad. I. F. Stone's recent series of articles stressed the necessity for compulsory subcontracting and the utilization of the automobile industry's capacity for defense purposes. The ideas expressed seem to be making headway, for we note in the *Wall Street Journal* of May 13 a report from Washington that a new "twin drive to speed defense production is in the making." One phase of this drive, according to the *Journal*, will be compulsory subcontracting; the other, "compulsory diversion to defense manufacture of productive facilities now devoted to the production of civilian goods."

Despite industry's hostility to them, the main ideas of the Reuther plan, first disclosed in *The Nation* last December 21, retain their vitality. "One OPM official," the *Wall Street Journal* went on to say, "points out that the automobile industry could divert a substantial part of its facilities to defense work even though much of its machinery is the single-purpose type. By using the output of its machine shops and whatever machinery in its production lines is suitable for uses other than automobile manufacture, the industry could contribute considerably more to the defense program than it is at the present time . . . the same is true of practically every other industry." But there is no indication as yet that the automobile industry is to be asked to make these contributions to defense. The industry's resistance is easily explained. One of the greatest sellers' markets in its history is developing, and despite the current production boom dealers' stocks have dropped below those of a year ago. The automobile manufacturers hate to give up any part of this business for defense. Moreover, they probably make a good deal more money on their normal business than on defense orders, which is not true of many other industries. The latest National City Bank report shows that General Motors, Knudsen's company, is still averaging a shade less than 25 per cent a year on its investment. It does not seem to do so well on defense. While defense sales last year were 3⅓ per cent of total sales, the profits on defense sales were only about 1½ per cent of net profits.

The reluctance of the OPM to mobilize the automobile industry is matched by its reluctance to end the concentration of defense orders in the hands of a comparatively few great companies and speed up production by subcontracting. It is significant that the first hint of compulsory subcontracting came not from the dollar-a-year men but from the labor end of the OPM, in an interview with Sidney Hillman. Even then it seems to have been only in answer to a question that Hillman said it "might" be necessary to put something in defense contracts to require subcontracting. A few days later Joseph L. Trecker, co-chief of the defense-contracts service, which is in charge of subcontracting, uttered a similar hint at San Francisco. He told a regional meeting of the National Association of Manufacturers there that "if necessary" we might have to "take steps" to force subcontracting. The necessity is sufficiently demonstrated by his own admission in the speech that—one year after the launching of the defense program—we are still operating at only 50 per cent of capacity.

*The Nation* believes it the President's job to order an investigation of productive capacity in every industry that will show what it can do for defense and what pooling of its facilities would accomplish toward increasing productive efficiency. Obviously the dollar-a-year men cannot be trusted to make this survey alone, for they have fought against the suggestion and its implications. They must be aided by representatives of labor and independent engineering technicians. Obviously also, the President, if he wants to achieve the full operation he asked in his press conference of May 2, must take the initiative on subcontracting. We need an executive order providing for compulsory subcontracting and reallocation of orders where backlogs are so swollen that delivery cannot be made in any reasonable time. The fate of the world depends on the battle of production in America, and the President as commander-in-chief must take over personal direction of the fight. Not to do so is to risk disaster.

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# Their Monopoly, Right or Wrong

BY I. F. STONE

*Washington, May 17*

THE extraordinary story on aluminum unfolded here this week before the Truman committee investigating national defense has been meagerly reported in the press, but it is one that the people of this country and their President dare not ignore. On Wednesday morning Richard S. Reynolds, president of the Reynolds Metals Company, testified that early in the summer of 1939 Philippe Levelle, one of the officials of the French Aluminum Company, visited him at his home in Richmond, Virginia. "I had become quite concerned," Reynolds told the Senate committee, "over the knowledge that Germany was buying more bauxite from France than the French were reducing to aluminum metal, and I asked Mr. Levelle in regard to this, and he said that Germany was short of brass and was using the excess aluminum for making things like window frames and door knobs." Reynolds wondered whether this was the real reason Germany was buying so much bauxite. "I stated to him at that time I thought they were using it for airplanes and that France would later hear about it." But Levelle was as complacent about bauxite sales to the Reich as our steel and oil men—and some of our admirals and State Department officials—are about our continued steel and oil exports to Japan.

Men like Levelle control production of most of the basic war materials in this country, and we risk the fate of France so long as we leave them in control. In May of last year, after the *Blitzkrieg* began, Reynolds came up to Washington to see Senator Lister Hill of Alabama, a member of the Senate Military Affairs Committee. "I had become convinced in my own mind," Reynolds testified, "that this would be a light-metal war, and I had figured from my inadequate source of information that Germany, her allies and conquered territories, including France if conquered, could produce one billion pounds of aluminum, while the total production in the United States at that time was less than one-third of that amount." Senator Hill asked what could be done, and Reynolds said he would see Arthur Davis, chairman of the board of the Aluminum Company of America. Reynolds went to Davis and told him that "he should inform our government of the true situation and not permit us to be caught in the same position as France." Reynolds, whose company at that time merely fabricated aluminum, suggested that Davis ask the government for funds to enable the Aluminum Company of America to raise its output to one billion pounds of aluminum a year. Since so vast an expansion of aluminum capacity would lessen its scarcity and lower its price, thus interfering with the Aluminum Company of America's monopoly policies, Reynolds thought Davis could ask the government for "full protection to his company . . . these emergency plants should be closed at the end of the emergency so as not to embarrass the Aluminum Company." Even on this basis, however, Davis did not care to cooperate. "Mr. Davis felt that I was unnecessarily alarmed," Reynolds said, ". . . stating that in his opinion there was ample aluminum and that there would be no shortage." Davis's optimism turns out to have been as fatuous as Levelle's.

The most favorable picture of our aluminum situation was presented to the committee by W. L. Batt, who came to the OPM's production division from the SKF roller-bearing company. Batt said that if all present plans for expansion work out perfectly and "100 per cent on schedule," we shall have only 1,209,000,000 pounds of aluminum next year, although our "direct" military needs on the basis of present plans will be 1,400,000,000. This does not include "indirect" military needs. A more pessimistic picture was presented by Leland Olds, chairman of the Federal Power Commission, who indicated that he felt the OPM estimates of productive possibility were much too high. The production of aluminum is closely tied in with production of power, and that in turn is affected by rainfall. Olds said that if weather conditions adversely affected the hydroelectric plants supplying the Aluminum Company of America, it would be able to produce only 500,000,000 pounds of aluminum. Even under average water conditions, Olds said the Aluminum Company would be able to generate only enough power for the production of 642,000,000 pounds of aluminum in 1942.

This is a terribly serious situation, but it will be less so if we shake loose from the grip of the business as-usual crowd. With RFC help, the comparatively tiny Reynolds Metals Company was able to build an aluminum plant and two metal-reduction plants in six months' time. Reynolds felt that the Aluminum Company of America could beat that record if it wanted to. "It is evident, in my mind," Reynolds testified, "that the production of aluminum ingots should not be allowed to embarrass or interfere with any possible requirements of defense. Aluminum ingots can be increased and multiplied as fast as aviation, automobile, and other defense contractors can expand their facilities." The way to get aluminum is to begin construction of a chain of government aluminum plants that will give us planes now and cheaper pots later.

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The dollar-a-year men who make a great to-do about coming here to serve their country should be criticized even more severely than Mr. Davis and his Aluminum Company. Of these men, the one who bears the heaviest share of the responsibility for hiding the true facts on aluminum from the American people is Edward R. Stettinius, Jr. The testimony before the Truman committee provides a damning bill of particulars. Admissions wrung from the Aluminum Company's arrogant vice-president by Hugh Fulton, chief counsel for the committee, disclosed that at the time Stettinius was assuring the country that we had plenty of aluminum, the Aluminum Company of America was already unable to fill orders on its books. Moreover, according to the testimony of Grenville R. Holden of the Eastman-Kodak Company, a dollar-a-year consultant on light metals, Stettinius and the men around him tried to discourage Reynolds Metals from entering the aluminum-manufacturing field. They pigeonholed an offer from a Swiss company to build an aluminum plant here at its own expense. They ignored offers of other companies to build aluminum-manufacturing plants, and they offered to help the Aluminum Company get around the Federal Power Commission's licensing regulations for the construction of a $37,000,000 power project at Fontana, North Carolina. The OPM in October announced that the Aluminum Company as its contribution to national defense was going to construct this power project to expand manufacture of aluminum. But the company abandoned the project rather than submit to the uniform-accounting and unearned-increment provisions of the Federal Power Act.

The subordination of public need and the country's safety to considerations of profit and monopoly was likewise disclosed in testimony on the priorities setup in aluminum. Priorities can be used by big business in war time to put smaller and less favored concerns out of business. One of the two civilian representatives on the Priorities Committee comes from General Motors, the other from a small aluminum-fabricating company completely at the mercy of Alcoa for its supplies. Senator Mead of New York expressed surprise that officials of companies using aluminum were allowed to determine priorities. "I can't imagine a Senator who was an officer in an aluminum company," he said, "participating in the tariff discussions of the Finance Committee and voting on that particular schedule in the Senate." In New York, he went on, the director of a private corporation was forbidden by law to vote on questions in which he had a private ax to grind. There has never been a bigger grinder of private axes than the OPM as now constituted.

# *The Mystery of Rudolf Hess*

## Hitler's Alter Ego

BY WILLIAM L. SHIRER

REGARDLESS of *why* Rudolf Hess made his fantastic flight to Scotland—and we must wait upon Mr. Churchill for the all-important answer—one fact stands out after an orgy of speculation and guessing such as this confused world has seldom indulged in before. It is simply that the Nazi regime, in the midst of a life-and-death struggle for existence, has lost one of its key men, and that Adolf Hitler, who is carrying the main burden of that struggle, has been deprived of an aide who was considered in inner Nazi Party circles to be indispensable to him.

Whether Hess flew to Britain with or without the connivance of Hitler does not alter the fact that he is lost to the Third Reich for the duration of the war. Nor does the contradiction in these two hypotheses detract from the importance of the weird journey. For if Hitler knew of it and approved it, his gamble must have been for high stakes. Otherwise he would not have sacrificed a man who was closer to him than any other and whose arrival in Britain, regardless of how Dr. Goebbels might explain it, was bound to spread consternation among party leaders and further bewilder the German people. If he did not know of it, then Hess's defection was even more important. It could not possibly be the result of another personal squabble—so common among the Nazi leaders—because Hess, whatever other characteristics he possessed, was neither vain nor ambitious. Moreover, he had been fanatically loyal to the Leader for nearly two decades. If, as C. Brooks Peters, in a dispatch from Berlin on May 7 to the New York *Times*, suggested, with a skill which evoked admiration from one who has worked under Nazi censorship, Hess's flight was the "carefully planned resolve of . . . one man," then it would seem reasonable to conclude that it was provoked by very serious dissension in the Nazi hierarchy.

Hess was not considered, even in Germany, a great man. And his position in the nation and especially in the party was by no means what many writers in this country have made it out to be in the last few days. He was not the boss of the party. Hitler was the boss. It is true that Hess had the title of Deputy Leader, and he also was chief of the party's Central Political Committee. But this committee had neither power nor influence in the affairs of state. It was not even all-powerful in the Nazi Party. Equally strong, if not in many respects

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stronger, was the so-called Political Organization (P. O.) of the party, headed by Dr. Robert Ley. In the mad jungle law of Nazi politics any post is what you make of it. And in recent years, as chief of the P. O., Dr. Ley, a ruthless, hard-drinking brawler, appeared to most observers in Berlin to have more control over the machine than Hess, who in his complete lack of jealousy was somewhat of a phenomenon in the party's upper ranks.

I think there is no doubt that in recent years Hitler regretted that his protege did not develop more of those traits of character by which all the other Nazi paladins have reached their present positions—jealousy, ambition, ruthlessness, cynicism, imagination, drive. For after the purge of June 30, 1934, which rocked the party and nearly cracked Hitler's already frayed nerves, the Leader let it be known that he intended to make Hess his successor. And it was one of Hitler's greatest disappointments that this shaggy-browed young man, who had first attracted his attention because of proved ability as a bouncer, never quite took on in the ensuing years the stature necessary for a job so exacting as that of dictator of the Third Reich.

Until about 1937, however, Hitler clung to his idea of having Hess succeed him. Most party bigwigs in Berlin were sure Hitler had already written it down in his will. Until 1937 it would have been impossible for Hitler to nominate Göring as his successor, because of the bitter rivalry between the fat Marshal and the club-footed little Minister of Propaganda, Dr. Goebbels. Perhaps it is not generally realized in this country that that rivalry scarcely exists today. Göring, since September, 1936, when he was put in charge of the Four-Year Plan and in effect superseded Dr. Schacht as economic dictator of Germany, has been out-distancing Goebbels. By the time the war started, Göring was definitely the Number Two man in Germany, with the Propaganda Minister scarcely in the running for third place. Both Ribbentrop and Himmler were crowding him out for this position. It was logical, therefore, for Hitler to name Göring to take his place in his speech to the Reichstag on September 1, 1939. It caused no surprise in Germany, where it was commonly accepted that the bemedaled Field Marshal was the only man who could carry on the regime if Hitler departed this world. Hess was named second in line to thwart any ambitions which may have lain in the breasts of such self-pushers as Ribbentrop, Himmler, Goebbels, or Ley. But no party leader in Berlin believed that Rudolf Hess would ever take over supreme power in the Reich or that, if he did, he would last long.

If this was Hess's position in Germany, then why is he such a loss to Hitler and the Reich? Hess was important for two reasons: first, because of his relationship to Hitler; second, because of his carefully built-up reputation as the one pure, unsullied, "idealistic" man in the top Nazi hierarchy.

To take the second point first, it must be remembered that even a people as gullible as the Germans have few illusions about the type of men around Hitler. Before 1934 they knew that Röhm was a homosexual. Today they know about Goebbels's affairs with many of the leading film and stage stars who are dependent upon him for their careers. They know about them and resent them, as they proved a couple of years ago when they hissed a beautiful young film star off the screens of Germany after they learned that Goebbels had taken her away from her husband.

Germans know that Dr. Ley drinks too much, that Himmler is cruel to the point of perversion, that Ribbentrop is a vain and unscrupulous man who will stop at nothing to advance himself in the Führer's eyes, that Göring spends millions to maintain a fantastically medieval personal life.

But they have never known any scandal about Hess. To them he was quiet, retiring, sober, incorruptible, and devoted to his family. And in time he came to be the pattern of Nazi virtue and the idol of German youth. It was in this role that he was important in Germany, a key man who could not be easily replaced.

But his greatest importance lay in his peculiar relation to Hitler. I think Hitler resolved after his break with Strasser in 1932 and with Röhm in 1934, both of whom were shot on his personal orders during the purge, that it would be wiser in the future not to take any of his "strong" men completely into his confidence. Though Göring is his right-hand man and furnishes much of the drive that is back of Germany's war effort, Hitler even today does not speak his mind fully to him. Nor does he confide completely in Ribbentrop, Goebbels, Himmler, or his military chiefs, such as General von Brauchitsch or General Keitel. They all get a part of the picture in Hitler's fiery mind, but not the whole picture.

And yet like any other human being, Hitler *has* to confide in someone. And until a fortnight ago that "someone" was Rudolf Hess. Hitler trusted him implicitly, as he trusted no other. And sometimes for hours on end the Great Man unburdened his torrid mind to his patient confidant. His words, Hitler knew, never went any farther.

In the earlier days of the party Hess of course made considerable contributions to Hitler's education, being second in this only to Alfred Rosenberg. It was he who introduced Professor Karl Haushofer to the Führer and probably to a greater measure than the famed *Geopolitiker* himself, drove into Hitler's mind the vaulting historical concept of *Lebensraum* which Haushofer had evolved.

Haushofer's influence on Hess, and through him on Hitler, raises a hypothesis advanced by many American observers last week—namely, that Hess flew to England in a last, desperate effort to achieve peace before Hitler

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inexorably fused the Nazi revolution with the Communist revolution for a final Russo-German assault upon the Western world. There may well be something in this, but if so, Hess was not only deserting his Leader but also his great mentor. It was Haushofer who ever since Versailles had preached two great things above all else—that England was the arch-enemy of Germany's drive to *Lebensraum* and that a German rapprochement with Russia was both desirable and possible.

Professor Haushofer was overjoyed with the Soviet-German pact which Ribbentrop brought back to Berlin in August, 1939. If his pupil Hess was not, the news never got out in Berlin. The only Nazi who declined to indorse it publicly was Rosenberg, who thereby lost his last hold in the upper party ranks. Hess remained loyal to Hitler on this great departure from Nazi orthodoxy, as he had on all other similar occasions. In fact, his greatest intolerance, and one that Hitler loved, was of those who even mentally wavered from the strict party line, whatever the Leader happened to make it at the time.

## Munich in Reverse

BY JOACHIM JOESTEN

RUDOLF HESS'S Wellsian—or shall I say Wellesian?—invasion of Britain from the skies has let loose an unprecedented flood of wishful thinking. The same people who only a few days ago were submerged in gloom are now jubilant. Overnight they have come to see Nazi Germany cracking up, a new blood purge in the offing, Hitler's vital military secrets turned over to the Berlin Intelligence Office.

I cannot understand how anybody can seriously think that Rudolf Hess, if he really wanted to escape from the gang with whom he has been associated for a lifetime, would have tried to do it in this manner, or have succeeded. A man whose face is known to every schoolboy in Germany, let alone to air-field guards and plane mechanics, takes off in a *military* plane and escapes to the enemy. He chooses for the start, not some obscure air field near the border, but the Augsburg airdrome, in the very heart of Germany, adding to all the other hazards of such a venture the quite unnecessary risk of a two-hour flight over German territory. And the Gestapo and the German military intelligence service see nothing, hear nothing, know nothing—until the fugitive has arrived on enemy soil.

We can pick up another small clue in this superthriller. It has been officially established that Hess, on his hop to Britain, took with him photographs and documents to prove his identity beyond doubt. Obviously, then, he had no intention of concealing his identity. Yet when a slight mishap in landing brought him down, not on the estate of the Duke of Hamilton, for which he was headed, but near the cottage of a farm laborer who had probably never in his life heard of Deputy Führer Rudolf Hess, he said he was Horn, not Hess. Why?

The answer, I think, is that the strange parachutist wanted to hide his identity just a little while. We know now that Hess, after his discovery, asked first to be taken to the Duke of Hamilton. Until he reached there he wanted to be Horn, not Hess. The police constable or rural guard who, he must have reckoned, would take him into custody might have an idea who Hess was and feel he must turn him over to the authorities at once. That short-lived alias, I believe, was intended to serve just this one purpose: to bring Hess to the Duke before anyone else started asking questions.

If Rudolf Hess really was fleeing from Germany, why should he so carefully select his landing place? He didn't drop haphazard or wherever he found suitable conditions for a descent. Why didn't he fly to Eire instead? That would have provided safer landing fields and still have been out of reach of his pursuers. He headed, skilfully and methodically, for a specific place—the estate of the Duke of Hamilton, who happened to be an acquaintance. Everything went according to plan, except that he bungled the parachute landing.

Now if Hess was not running away, what did he go to Britain for? Obviously, he went there on a mission, and I believe that he did so with the full knowledge and approval of Hitler and the German High Command. I don't think Rudolf Hess dropped from the sky as a bearer of peace proposals alone, but as a messenger carrying an ultimatum. This ultimatum, accompanied no doubt by fairly reasonable suggestions for a negotiated peace, was not addressed, in the first place, to Prime Minister Winston Churchill. It was addressed to the Duke of Hamilton and his kind—the aristocratic and moneyed classes of Britain, the eternal Cliveden set of yesterday, today, and tomorrow.

Hitler has not made many miscalculations in this war. And there is one thing he should have learned by now—that he cannot beat Britain. He has proved that his mechanized juggernaut is irresistible everywhere on land, but he has also discovered that it is not amphibian. It will not take him across the Channel.

Britain ought also to have learned one thing by now—that it cannot beat Hitler. After Norway, Flanders, and Greece I cannot see how anyone today can hope that Britain will be able to wrest the Continent from Hitler's grip; perhaps in five or ten years, but not this year or the next.

As one clear-minded observer has expressed it, Great Britain and Germany have about as much chance of one defeating the other as an elephant has to beat a whale or vice versa. Hitler knows it, the Nazi Party knows it—and the Cliveden set knows it. One man doesn't know it, because he doesn't want to know it. That man is Churchill,

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superb embodiment of the Briton who doesn't know when he is licked. That is why Hess did not parachute on Downing Street but chose the estate of the Duke of Hamilton for the approach. In doing so he returned the courtesy of Chamberlain flying to Godesberg. Chamberlain flew the terms of the Cliveden set to Hitler; Hess flew Hitler's terms to a successor of the Cliveden set. They landed in somewhat different fashion, but, then, one was an appeaser and the other is a firebrand. One went to Munich; the other came from there.

Rudolf Hess's message to the upper class of Britain was, I should venture to guess, succinctly, this: We know and you ought to know, you can't beat us and we can't beat you. Meanwhile we are destroying the very foundations of each other's wealth and power—*und der Teufel* (Stalin) *lacht dazu!* Hadn't we better patch it up now? The Continent for us, the Empire for you, and then with your permission we'll turn on Russia. Now here, for the last time, is our outstretched hand. If you take it, we share the world; if you leave it, Germany goes into the closest alliance with Soviet Russia, welding the continents of Europe and Asia together for a thirty-year war, if necessary, against Anglo-Saxon sea power.

Deputy Führer Rudolf Hess was just the right man to carry such a message to the British ruling classes, above the head of their crusading Premier. As Hitler's deputy he has authority and knowledge, but he is not an indispensable cog in the Nazi war machine. Unlike Hitler, Göring, Goebbels, or even Ribbentrop, he is a man who can be sacrificed and one who is willing to sacrifice himself. He is a member of the Nazi Party's inner circle, but he never belonged to the German High Command. London's boast that Hess is "talking" now is probably bluff. Even if Hess wanted to talk, even if he were forced to talk, he could not spill a first-class war secret. What he could and probably would do is sacrifice himself. That would be entirely in keeping with the man's character. Like no one else in the top ranks of the Nazi Party, Hess is self-effacing, fanatically devoted to the cause, and mystically loyal to his leader.

I think it was a masterful plan, and if it had succeeded, you might have read in a few weeks the sudden announcement of a British-German armistice, followed by a smashing drive into Russia. That may still happen, but I doubt it since Churchill is now forewarned.

If the scheme has failed, what next? Undoubtedly, the great unholy alliance between Nazi Germany and Communist Russia. Hitler doesn't like the idea, his highest military and political advisers loathe it, but what can he do? The coming stalemate in the West, turning a *Blitzkrieg* into a war of attrition, makes it imperative for Germany to seek the Russian alliance. Stalin is all set for it. At the last minute before signing the pact of "eternal" friendship Hitler, through his best friend and confidant, made a desperate bid for peace in the west and war in the east. His armies were ready for the job, from Bulgaria to Finland and Sweden. When Rudolf Hess sprained his ankle, Stalin scored his greatest triumph.

# *Allah's Divided Children*

BY RAOUL AGLION

TO FURTHER their drive to the East the Germans are doing their utmost to stir up the Moslem peoples to a "holy war" against Great Britain; they have even induced the Mufti of Jerusalem, one of their satellites, to announce that the revolt in the Near East has already begun. Actually, any report of a revolt of more than a mere fraction of the Moslem peoples can be discounted. In the last war the Sultan of Turkey, spiritual leader of the Moslems, tried vainly to bring about a *Jehad,* or holy war, against the Allies. The Mohammedans of North Africa remained faithful to the French, those of India to the British, while the Arabs of his own realm rose in revolt. Today with no Ottoman Empire, no Caliph, and the reforms instituted by Ataturk still a dividing issue, there is not the slightest possibility of anything approaching an all-inclusive Moslem uprising.

Many tribes and peoples, as followers of Mohammed, are grouped together under the term "Moslem." In North Africa and southwestern Asia the Moslems are often referred to as Arabs, but this is an inexact use of the word. In Morocco the natives are Berbers, blond with fair skins and blue eyes, and are supposed to be descended from some of the barbarian invaders, Goths or Visigoths, who settled in North Africa a thousand years ago. In Egypt the so-called Arabs are of pure African origin. They are Hamites in the Biblical sense. The term "Arab" is applied to all these people because Mohammed, the founder of the Islamic religion, came out of Arabia, a sword in one hand and a Koran in the other, planning to convert the whole world.

The spread of the Koran's influence has been prodigious. Even today many people in the Far East are being converted to Mohammedanism; the growth of Islam in China, where there are already 25,000,000 Moslems, is extraordinary. All the natives of North Africa from Morocco to Egypt are members of the faith, as are

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large numbers of blacks in Central and even in South Africa. In Asia the Moslems form huge majorities in Syria, Palestine, Arabia, Transjordan, Iran, and Afghanistan; India has 80,000,000 Mohammedans, and Ceylon, the Straits Settlements, and the Dutch East Indies have considerable numbers. The only European country in which Moslems are in a great majority is Albania, but small communities of them are found in Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria, Lithuania, and Finland. The whole Soviet state of Turkestan is of Islamic faith. In all, the Moslems number 250,000,000, representing one-eighth of the total population of the world.

Because of this racial and national heterogeneity a common language and faith have not sufficed to bring unity to Islam. Economic, ideological, and dynastic wars have been common. Turkey can no longer be considered a truly Moslem country, for the government has banned all religion, and is even attempting to root out all Arabic words from the language. Persia also has seen the passing of the old ways. Its present ruler, Riza Khan, an officer of the Persian Cossacks of the Russian army during the last war, seized the government by force in 1923 and made himself dictator. Two years later he called a constituent assembly, had himself declared Shah, changed the name of the country to Iran, and took steps to modernize the state. He conserved, however, some of the ancient Islamic rules concerning marriage and divorce.

Riza Khan has acted with extreme vigor to drive out all foreign influences. One of the secretaries of the Iranian embassy in Cairo told me that no state official or high-ranking officer may associate with European women or attend receptions given by foreigners. All British officers were turned out of the Iranian army, and sheiks who had been under British influence were forced into line. Russian influence has been eliminated in the north, where a few years earlier the Soviet Republic of Gilan had been established. The new Shah very cleverly played off the ambitions of the British against those of the Russians and conducted a dramatic and successful fight against the powerful Anglo-Persian Oil Company. Always cautious, he did his best to refuse all offers of German collaboration, and when he needed Western technical help for the modernization of Iran he called in only Americans, French, or Belgians, whose countries had no political ambitions in that region. German agents, however, have recently been extremely active and have stirred up anti-European feeling among Iranian provincial sheiks.

Iran has a well-trained army of some 70,000 men whose patriotism and morale are very high. But it could of course do nothing against a modern mechanized force. The Shah well knows that if the British are defeated, his country will be handed over by Hitler to Stalin.

Three years ago the heir to the throne of Iran married the beautiful sister of the King of Egypt, and the ties between the two nations have grown steadily stronger since that time. But the influence of Iran in the Moslem world is not great. In the first place the Iranians belong to a particular sect known as the "Shiites"; and in the second the modernization of the country has alienated the devout Moslems of Afghanistan and India.

In Afghanistan, where the Russians and British have always vied with each other to gain the ascendancy, King Amanoulah endeavored to copy the Western reforms of Ataturk and Riza Khan, but his subjects were more religious than the Turks and Iranians and turned him out in 1929. The young king, Nadir Shah Ghazi, is torn between English and Soviet influences. But here, too, the Nazis are playing an active game. An uprising in Afghanistan would endanger the hold of the British on India, and the Nazis have been spending money freely to prepare such an event. It is not improbable that Hitler has offered Afghanistan to Stalin as a reward for remaining a friendly neutral while the Nazis advance toward India.

The rest of southwestern Asia—Palestine, Syria, Iraq, and the kingdoms of Arabia—is Moslem and Arab. Before the First World War Iraq, then known as Mesopotamia, was a part of the Ottoman Empire. The British conquered it and after the war governed it by a mandate from the League of Nations. At the Cairo conference of 1921 Winston Churchill, then Colonial Secretary, recognized the independence of Iraq and signed a "treaty of alliance" with it. As a result the British withdrew their army but retained a few air bases.

Feisal, the first king of Iraq, was a very religious Sunnite Moslem. His wife and daughter were kept in traditional seclusion, though his son and his young brother were sent to England for their education. Adopting modern techniques, he traveled by plane and car, but he never enforced any reform that interfered with the laws of the Koran. His son, King Ghazi I, was faithful to the treaty of alliance with Great Britain, signed in 1923, and as soon as England declared war on Germany, severed diplomatic relations with the Nazis. King Ghazi died last year in a strange automobile accident. After his death his six-year-old son, King Feisal II, was placed on the throne and a regency was organized, but the government was no longer in strong hands.

The oil fields of Iraq are connected by pipe line with Tripoli in Syria and with Haifa in Palestine. The British Mediterranean fleet is almost entirely supplied with fuel oil from the base at Haifa. After the Franco-German armistice the British cut the pipe line to French Syria. Since early April of this year the Nazis have been organizing riots all over the country, and as a result the supply of oil to Haifa has often been interrupted. I have recently received private information concerning the continual infiltration into Iraq of agents appointed by von Papen, who has turned his embassy in Ankara into head-

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quarters for Arab disaffection. The so-called "German Lawrence," an archaeologist named von Oppenheim, has been in Syria since the French armistice using that country as a base for repeated trips into Iraq. He has been in constant touch with Ali Beg Gailani, who recently seized control in Bagdad and whose puppet government has already been recognized by Vichy and the Soviet Union. Along with Ali Beg a number of semi-independent sheiks to whom the Nazis have promised power and money have risen in rebellion.

In Syria since 1920 the French have had to face one uprising after the other. Inspired by the example of Iraq and Egypt, the Syrians demanded independence and the withdrawal of French troops. France agreed at one period and signed a treaty to that effect, but the French Chamber of Deputies refused to ratify it. After the outbreak of war the country was kept calm by the presence of General Weygand with 100,000 men, but since the armistice this powerful force has been largely demobilized and sent home, and the French army in Syria now numbers about 35,000 loyal colonial troops led by new officers sent out by Vichy. The Nazis have sent in "armistice" and "commercial commissions," so-called, whose principal work is to organize uprisings among the Arabs of the Near East. The French authorities have been induced to release all Arabs who have been sentenced to prison, and the Nazis have systematically collected and trained these ex-convicts in a camp near Damascus and then sent them, with arms and money, into Iraq and Palestine.

It has been easy to stir up trouble in Palestine, where before the war many Arabs, under the leadership of the Mufti Husseini, were hostile to the Jews and fighting was constant. For the past year the Mufti has been in Bagdad, where he spends much of his time at the Italian legation, and where only a few days ago he had a meeting with the mysterious von Oppenheim. Arms are being constantly smuggled into Palestine to arm the Arab mountain tribes, and with the British occupied in Iraq civil war may break out at any time. Since the Jews and the loyal Arab population are completely disarmed the result is bound to be a massacre.

In Transjordan the ruler, Emir Abdullah, remains loyal to his old allies and has helped organize an Arab legion to fight under General Wavell. His second son, obviously under the influence of the Nazis, who have promised him the throne of a "Greater Palestine," tried not long ago to murder him.

Ibn Saud, King of Hedjaz and Nejd in southern Arabia, enjoys great prestige among Moslem peoples because he is the ruler of the sacred cities of Mecca and Medina. An active and clever politician, Ibn Saud signed treaties of "good neighborliness" with the nearby Arab nations a few years ago. Since the Abyssinian war the Italians have been busy throughout the Arabian Peninsula helping native tribes to arm. They have poured considerable sums of money into Yemen, but so far not one of the Arab countries near the Red Sea has done anything to help the Axis. That situation may change at any time, however, for the spectacular advance of the Germans in the Balkans has greatly enhanced their prestige.

Egypt, unlike Turkey and Iran, has always been a very conservative, orthodox Moslem kingdom. The university of Al Azhar, which was in existence centuries before any of the European universities were founded, is the center of the Islamic world, and its head, the Sheik Mustapha-el-Maraghi, an extremely wise man, is spiritual leader of Islam. When I was in the diplomatic service in Cairo, I twice had the honor of a long conversation with him. He was clearly opposed to any dictatorship and to any form of racial distinction. "Islam preaches the brotherhood of all human creatures," he told me. Sheik Mustapha-el-Maraghi answered with great dignity Mussolini's boasting speech at Tripoli in which he claimed to be the "Sword of Islam." The Grand Sheik replied that only a Moslem could take that title and then only if he were ruler of the holy cities of Mecca and Medina.

Another of the old sheiks, Hedji Suleiman, who has a world-wide reputation for knowledge and wisdom, said to me when I went to see him at Al Azhar, " 'The Faithful are brethren,' says the Koran, 'therefore make peace between your brethren and fear God.' " He emphasized the fact that the unity of mankind was an essential part of Mohammed's doctrine. "Our faith is opposed to any racial hatred. No other civilization has been so equalitarian as the Moslem. We have never made any distinction between whites, Africans, or Asiatics." "We never forget," he added, "that Mohammed often said, 'The Arab does not excel the non-Arab unless he is the more pious of the two.' "

The members of the Egyptian government are all loyal to the terms of the treaty of alliance signed with Britain in 1936, in which their country was declared completely independent. Members of the various political organizations have often assured the British, "Your war is our war." So far this has meant nothing in the way of military aid on the battlefield; no Egyptian soldier has fought in this war despite the physical invasion of the country. The Egyptians are pathetically ill equipped to fight and fear the bombing of Cairo and other cities should they formally enter the war. They have severed diplomatic relations with the Axis, however, and are giving the British every aid short of actual participation.

As to the Moslems of India, they are today more loyal to Great Britain than ever before. They form the largest Moslem community in the world, though with their 80,000,000 they are in a minority beside the 270,000,000 Hindus with whom they live. England has always protected them in India and has often clashed with the

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Hindus over their rights. Their loyalty will prove extremely important in future political developments in Afghanistan and Iran. I met in Cairo Prince Ali Khan, son of the Agha, supreme ruler of the Ishmaelite sect. He had enlisted in the French Foreign Legion and had been garrisoned in Syria. After the French armistice he crossed into Palestine and placed himself at the disposal of the British. He has since proved very able at organizing and training Indian troops and I believe is to head an army that he has just recruited in his country.

Nazi and Fascist agents will always find groups of malcontents, jealous local sheiks, or ambitious tribal chieftains whom they can win over to their side through bribes or force of arms, but in the main the world-wide Moslem communities will remain loyal to the cause of the democracies.

# *Luxury or Liberty?*

BY MAXWELL S. STEWART

WE ARE about to shift our defense program into high gear. During the first six or eight months after the collapse of France we operated in low. In the past few months we have been in intermediate—gradually gaining speed but still not ready for the all-out effort the President promised. The delays have been inevitable. A year ago the United States did not have, in any sense of the word, an armament industry. Factories had to be built or reconditioned, tools made, raw materials obtained, and the errors and breakdowns that go with any new enterprise overcome. Now that the construction has been completed in large part and production has started, we are faced with the real test of what we can achieve. For it is plain that if Britain is to be saved, and our own defense assured, we must reach productive heights during these next few months undreamed of a year ago.

During the first year of the defense program it has been widely assumed that the United States, unlike Germany, could have both guns and butter; that no essential sacrifice would be required. All we had to do, some argued, was to put our nine or ten million unemployed to work in the armament industries. We would then have the greatest armament industry in the world without any interference with the production of goods for everyday living. They completely disregarded the fact that the unemployed were mostly unskilled, and that we lacked tools and equipment for the defense industries. As a matter of fact, we did expand our production of consumers' goods during the period in which our armament program was in low gear. Our clothing and shoe industries operated at well above their 1939 levels. Meat consumption rose sharply, despite higher prices. The production of automobiles in the last quarter of 1940 was more than 30 per cent higher than in the last quarter of 1939. This situation continued into the early months of 1941. Consumer purchases of luxury articles increased even more rapidly than production. Instead of making a sacrifice for national defense, the American people as a whole were profiting from it. In that sense they deserved the Nazi gibe of being war profiteers.

Even in money terms America's contribution to national defense and aid to Britain has so far been insignificant in comparison with the contributions made by the British or with those wrung from the German people for war purposes. In the fiscal year just ending we spent approximately $6 billion for defense. In the coming year the amount may reach $20 billion. Even this last figure is less than one-fourth of our national income. In contrast, England is spending £4 billion a year, or 60 per cent of its total income. Canada also is devoting considerably more than half its national income to defense. Germany is spending at the rate of 72 billion marks a year, or nearly two-thirds of its national income. And this is not half the story. In any discussion of relative sacrifices it must be remembered that the German economy has been on a war basis since 1933. This has given the Reich a tremendous head start. If the democracies are to win, they must not only match present German armament production—including that of the occupied countries—but they must make up the lead that Germany gained while they slept. In the long run American plus British capacity will greatly surpass anything that Germany can hope to achieve, even through the exploitation of the New Europe. However, it is not capacity but present production which counts. The war will in all probability be won or lost by production in the next six or eight months.

### URGENCY AND LIVING STANDARDS

If we had eight years to build up our armaments, as Germany has had, there would be no reason why we should not have both guns and butter. A national income of $100 billion is well within our reach. With a quarter of this devoted to defense, we could have the greatest war industry in the world. And the $75 billion which remained would give us, at present prices, a standard of living appreciably higher than has yet been at-

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tained in this country. But we do not have eight years; it is more a matter of eight months. Barring inflation, the national income this year will be in the neighborhood of $85 billion. If we are to get $13 billion worth of defense materials, plus $7 billion worth for Britain—and these are minimum figures—it is evident that we shall have to cut deeply into that section of our income which now goes to provide consumer wants. In other words, we shall have to curtail our standard of living. The cut, on the basis of the foregoing estimates, would be some $5½ billion, or about 8 per cent. It may turn out to be much greater. It ought to be greater during these next six or eight crucial months. If our aid to Britain and the empire is to offset German arms superiority, it should average approximately $1 billion a month. It has yet to reach a third of that amount.

Any suggestion that the American people must cut their standard of living provokes a violent reaction in certain circles. By many it is regarded as a betrayal of liberalism. Some even see it as a threat to democracy, arguing that since democracy depends upon voluntary cooperation rather then compulsion, we must demonstrate its superiority by providing both guns and butter. Those who argue in this manner ignore the time element. They either deny or disregard the plain mathematical facts outlined in the preceding paragraph. Yet, to a certain extent, we must admit the truth of what they say. It is clearly against the interest of national defense, to say nothing of the more general objectives of democracy, to impose sacrifices which will undermine the health and efficiency of the American people. The third of the nation which the President has described as ill fed, ill clothed, and ill housed cannot be further deprived of essentials without the basic strength of the country being undermined. Already steps have been taken to improve the diet and housing conditions of these groups in the interest of defense. Further steps will doubtless have to be taken; and this may require some increase in the production of essential articles for consumption.

But there are many ways in which the "American standard of living" can be cut without sacrifice of essentials. It is not only the poor who have benefited from the war-time expansion of business. The well-to-do have gained as much or more. Net corporation profits, after deduction of taxes, were 27 per cent higher in 1940 than in 1939. They have continued to rise in 1941. Although complete statistics are not available, it would seem fair to say, on the basis of such figures as automobile sales, that there has been a relatively larger gain in expenditures for luxury goods than for necessities. It is somewhat startling to find that well over 15 per cent of our total manufacturing production last year consisted of what is known technically as consumers' durable goods. These include automobiles, electric refrigerators, furniture, heating equipment, musical instruments, radios, and jewelry. To cut down the production of such goods for a year or two could hardly cause hardship. For we have enormous stocks on hand. There are some 27,000,000 passenger automobiles on the roads today. Half of these are less than five years old, and nearly three-fourths are new enough to possess a substantial amount of unused mileage. The stock of durable goods in the hands of consumers exceeds $30 billion in value. With this reserve to go on we should be able to divert as much as $4 billion worth of durable-goods production to national defense annually. To strengthen further the case for such action, it happens that the consumers' durable goods industries are among our most efficient. They possess a disproportionate amount of the country's skilled labor and effectively harnessed horse-power.

### FOUR WAYS TO CUT DOWN BUYING

Mere realization that consumer sacrifices are necessary is not, however, enough. Much depends on the way in which they are effected. The four methods most commonly used for limiting consumer purchases in time of emergency are (1) high prices, (2) direct control of production, (3) priorities, and (4) rationing. The first, which is also the one most frequently employed—allowing prices to rise and thus curtail consumption—is the least satisfactory. Although there can be no doubt of its effectiveness, the goal is achieved almost entirely at the expense of the low-income groups. The well-to-do pay the increased prices, grudgingly perhaps, and pare their savings accordingly. This runs counter to the government's plan for financing defense by tapping the savings of individuals. A more serious objection is found in the fact that increased prices under present conditions are bound to lead to inflation. A rise in the cost of living is certain to be followed by demands for higher wages, and any substantial rise in wages would make further price advances inevitable. Thus the cycle of inflation is started.

A much more reasonable method of attacking the problem is for the government to restrict or prohibit the output of the things that compete with defense production. It should take such action regardless of whether the competition is in machine tools, necessary raw materials, or skilled labor. The most obvious example of such competition is that offered by automobiles. Here our record is disgraceful. Whereas Germany stopped the production of private cars in the first week of the war, American automobile production for the week ending May 11, it has just been announced, was 132,000 cars, the highest for any week since 1937. We have been told that production of 1942 models will be cut 10 per cent and possibly 20 per cent. But why should it not be cut 100 per cent?

So far we have been able to conserve crucial commodities for defense uses merely by applying a system of priorities. But although priorities should be rigorously applied to cut down, say, the use of aluminum in con-

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sumer goods, they are ill adapted to bring about a general reduction of consumption. They may lead to sudden and marked price increases in the restricted articles; and they cannot bring a general reduction in consumption. They merely divert purchasing power from the restricted articles to others which are perhaps less crucial to the defense effort. If people cannot buy aluminum pans, they will buy some other kind. Enamel ware is, as a rule, cheaper than aluminum, but most people will spend the difference on something else—thus maintaining the total drain on the country's productive resources.

In an effort to avoid undue hardship while effecting a general reduction in consumption, the European belligerents have employed an elaborate system of rationing and price-fixing. Although it is perhaps the most satisfactory of the methods commonly used to restrict consumption, rationing also has its limitations. It has the advantage of being fair, but it is by far the most cumbersome and costly means of limiting consumption; and, like priorities, it fails to strike at the root of the evil. For if the amount of money that people can spend for many essential articles is restricted, they will tend to spend the amount they have thus saved for other things, chiefly luxuries and non-essentials—which is precisely what we should seek to prevent.

### THE DIRECT ATTACK

The best way to avoid this is to attack purchasing power directly. This may be done by a combination of three methods: namely, taxation, compulsory savings, and restrictions on consumer credit. It must be noted, however, that curtailment of purchasing power would supplement, not replace, direct cuts in production.

Of the three methods, taxation is undoubtedly the most important. Taxation not only curtails consumer buying power but diverts to the government money that would normally be spent for everyday living, permitting the government to use it directly for defense. This is exactly what we should seek to do. The effectiveness of this method depends, however, on the *kind* of taxes which are imposed. Taxes which fall primarily on the low-income groups are undesirable because they tend to curtail expenditures for food, health, and other essentials while leaving the demand for luxury articles, which are bought chiefly by the well-to-do, virtually untouched. Progressive taxes, on the other hand, such as income, inheritance, and excess-profits taxes, which fall chiefly on the higher-income groups, tend to cut into savings and to restrict expenditures for luxuries. In theory the necessary curtailment in the consumption of durable goods and non-essentials could be accomplished solely through an increase in progressive taxes. But if we are at all realistic, we must recognize that there are definite limits to the tax increase that any Congress will vote. And that limit at the moment is far short of the English tax rate.

Compulsory saving provides a supplementary method of tapping excess purchasing power. This rather unique device was strongly urged upon England at the start of the war by John Maynard Keynes, Britain's most celebrated economist. Keynes early saw that the volume of consumer goods would have to be cut, and urged that the government reduce the amount of money in people's pockets to correspond by deferring a part of the wages and salaries of all persons with incomes above a specified level. By this means he sought to avoid the undesirable social consequences of financing the war by conventional loans. The Keynes plan, in modified form, has been adopted in England. It might well be tried here.

The third approach to the problem is peculiarly adapted to America. It happens that a very large proportion of our consumer purchases, particularly of durable goods, are made on credit. The total volume of consumer credit in the United States is probably well over $9 billion and may have risen as high as $10 billion. Automobile financing alone accounts for more than two billion, excluding the cars bought on loans obtained from commercial or personal finance companies and credit unions. Loans to encourage the purchase of household equipment account for another billion or billion and a half. Advances by regulated small loan companies and industrial banks, and the personal loans of commercial banks total considerably more than $1 billion—of which a large part is used to finance retail purchases. Since the total production of consumers' durable goods is less than $6 billion a year, it is safe to say that more than half of these goods are sold on time. It seems therefore that restrictions on consumer credit would go a long way toward achieving the cut in consumer expenditures that is necessary to match cuts in production. And the reduction would take place precisely in the area where it is most desirable.

### NO MORE INSTALMENT SELLING

Complete elimination of instalment selling would seem justified under the circumstances. We might start, however, by outlawing it in certain fields, such as in the sale of new automobiles. In addition, a very considerable reduction in the amount of consumer credit could be effected if banks were compelled to curtail their advances to the various consumer-credit agencies. Most of these agencies are dependent on the commercial banks for a considerable proportion of their funds. Possibly as much as one-third of all our consumer credit rests on short-term bank loans. Since the banks are already subject to strict control by the Federal Reserve System, restrictions on this type of loan would be relatively easy to apply and enforce.

To be fully effective the restrictions on the banks should be supplemented by direct limitations on instalment credit. It would be desirable, for example, to stiffen the requirements for down payments. Or the length of

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time allowed for payment might be cut. If a down payment of 50 per cent were required for all instalment purchases and the length of the repayment period were cut in half, it is probable that a 50 per cent reduction in instalment sales could be effected. In automobiles alone this would mean a reduction of $1 billion a year in sales. The total curtailment in the demand for durable goods would probably be nearly twice this amount.

A similar tightening-up process might be applied to charge accounts and cash loans. Department stores could be instructed to insist on all charge accounts being paid within thirty days. Since most accounts run considerably longer at present, such a provision would bring about a substantial contraction in the volume of time sales. Restrictions on cash loans present somewhat greater difficulties. In some instances they might cause real hardship. But inasmuch as personal loans are often used as a substitute for instalment financing, some kind of parallel limitation is clearly necessary. Shortening the period of repayment would perhaps be the least objectionable means of achieving this purpose. An increase in interest rates would hardly lead to any appreciable reduction in the number of loans, and would place an undesirable burden on many needy families.

The only objection to restrictions on consumer credit is that their effectiveness may be temporary. Given time, many families could save up enough money to pay cash for a new car or a new refrigerator. And since they would save interest and instalment charges, they would have more money than ever to spend. But it would not always work out this way. Experience has shown that most families simply do not save for large expenditures unless they are compelled to by some such device as instalment selling. Barred from instalment purchases by rigorous down-payment requirements, such families would probably spend more for food, clothing, health, and other day-to-day necessities. This, of course, would work in the interest of national defense. In general, the families which are able to pay cash for large purchases are to be found in the high and upper-middle income groups. Left to their own devices, they would undoubtedly spend a substantial part of their income for automobiles and other types of durable goods. Spending of this type could be discouraged by imposition of a heavy tax—possibly as much as 100 per cent—on such articles, coupled with direct curtailment of the production of durable goods.

Adequate defense cannot be secured if our desire for comfort must be pandered to. Even less can we furnish the aid which Britain and China so desperately need and which we must give them for the sake of our own future. Unless we deprive ourselves voluntarily of needless luxuries at this time, we may find ourselves compelled to make vastly greater sacrifices later on—sacrifices comparable to those imposed on the populations of the Axis countries.

# *In the Wind*

LIKE THE NEWSPAPER GUILD of New York, the State, County, and Municipal Workers of America (C. I. O.) placed on trial a union member who criticized the leadership. The offense was a statement published in the opposition paper saying that the union had opposed conscription both before and after the law was passed. The trial is over, and the decision, which will soon be handed down, may result in expulsion.

LOUIS MACNEICE, the London correspondent of *Common Sense,* was recently criticized by a reader of that magazine for dwelling in a poet's ivory tower. Just as the reader's complaint arrived, the editors received a letter from MacNeice saying that he was spending much of his time in the tower of St. Paul's Cathedral observing the air raids.

BANKNOTES for one and two kroner recently introduced in Norway are popularly known as "uslings"—the Norwegian word for scoundrel—and "quislings." If any one asks the explanation of these nicknames, the reply is that obviously it takes two "uslings" to make a "quisling."

CLASS ANGLE: Searching for an explanation of the Hess affair, the *Daily Worker* played up in its headings only Duff Cooper's statement that Hess was "not unwelcome." An editorial said: "Hess is being whitewashed. Embraces greet him. . . . There is no essential difference between the ruling cliques of Berlin, London, and Wall Street."

TOLEDO, OHIO, has in recent months been the center of an anti-Negro campaign. A Negro applicant for a teaching license was officially forbidden to take the examinations on the ground that a Negro could under no circumstances get a teaching appointment. The Toledo school board has proposed the erection of a Jim Crow high school. A committee of the National Association for the Protection of Colored People sent out a questionnaire to thirty-one employers asking whether they would employ skilled Negro help in defense production. Only one replied, and he said no.

AN AMERICAN SCHOLAR visited Benedetto Croce in Naples while the philosopher was working on the proofs of his last book, "History as the Story of Liberty." The American talked with Croce about the state of affairs in Europe and the evil days upon which scholarship and philosophy have fallen. Then he remarked consolingly that life in Italy was at least a bit less harsh and violent than in Germany. "Yes," Croce said. "It is a bit better. In Germany they had illusions and lost them. Here we had no illusions."

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind —either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

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# A Native at Large

BY JONATHAN DANIELS

## Laughter from Simon Legree

IT IS easy to see the progress of the Negro in Dr. Robert C. Weaver, who has the responsibility under Sidney Hillman of getting jobs for Negroes in defense. He sits well dressed in an office in the huge new building which holds the expanding forces of both Federal Security and OPM. In the room next door efficient-looking Negro secretaries put in long-distance calls for him to Chicago, Connecticut, the West Coast, to which his people by the hundreds of thousands have gone, and the Black Belt, where by the million they remain. He is well educated, energetic, intelligent. He could have been a college president.

As much as almost anybody I know, Dr. Weaver looks like security in America. Only his job is a symbol of the insecurity of his people. Defense has made dramatic the fact that in important particulars the Negro in the United States is worse off now than he almost ever was before—and I'm not forgetting Simon Legree in the old days.

Maybe Booker T. Washington seems now to some members of his race an "Uncle Tom" Negro or, in the more colorful Negro phrase for the same thing, "a handkerchief head." But he said a long time ago something important today—that the only way a white man could keep a Negro in a ditch was to stay there with him. When people talk today about using the whole manpower of America, the ditch seems even deeper than it used to be. And more of us than ever before seem to be in it.

Now it sometimes seems at least as deep as the hole which WPA makes in the Treasury, a hole that begins to look bigger and bigger as money is needed for defense. No people are more dependent upon WPA than the Negroes. Congressmen hoping to cut its appropriation heard testimony in Washington recently about the continuing necessity for it in both the black slums of great cities and the black belts of the old South unless Negroes can break the economic color line and get jobs. And that was approximately the point at which Dr. Weaver went into his job to try to help them to do it. How hard a job that may be is indicated by the situation in which the 13,000,000 Negroes in America find themselves. A Southern white student of the subject staked it off last month.

"Eighty per cent of all Negro farm operators are tenants," Dr. Guy B. Johnson said at Chapel Hill, "and the ratio of farm ownership is actually lower today than it was thirty years ago. Social customs, race prejudice, and even labor unions have operated to keep the Negro out of the skilled trades and white-collar jobs and even to displace Negroes from some of their traditional occupations, such as janitor work and hotel work."

He might have gone farther. Almost any job which pays decent wages is under white pressure and white threat. Wage-and-hour laws have meant white workers instead of Negroes, or have brought the quick introduction of such machines as the "Big Mama" in peanut processing, which will do the work for which four black human mamas drew little wages before. Not even tenancy is certain on the land. The migration to the towns which has crowded 100,000 Negroes into each of a dozen American cities was as often a movement of the pushed as of the hopeful. The best hope at the end of the push, North and South, has been the WPA. The cost of WPA is in part the price democracy pays for the luxury of its prejudice.

In the field of labor the prejudice is relatively new. That makes Dr. Weaver almost more significant as an ironical symbol than as an idealistic actor. As an agent of defense in crisis in 1941, he is discovering that finding places for skilled Negroes in defense industries is not easy even in the states where the Abolitionist societies were thickest in the past and where the need of skilled workers is greatest at present. But Dr. Weaver's great-grandfather was a slave and, even more important, a carpenter. Long ago in the slave South he found the time and the skilled jobs, outside the slave labor required of him, in which to make enough money to buy his freedom.

In 1941 it is not easy for the free to find skilled jobs. It is not easy even for the skilled slave's great-grandson, a Ph.D. backed by the power and prestige of the OPM, to help them find places where they can work for the arming of democracy. Democracy has made a lot of progress, but it seems to me either funny or sad—probably both—that the very necessity for Dr. Weaver's work makes it appear that in the matter of skills in defense freedom has got to move to catch up with slavery.

I don't at all like the way Simon Legree might laugh at that.

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# THE HISPANO-AMERICAN'S WORLD*

BY WALDO FRANK

DIVERGENCES

MALAISE clouds the good-will with which our country turns to the peoples south. We have the intuition that we should be close, not for mere reasons of defense and commerce, but because we *are* close; and yet that we lack the key for understanding. America Hispana is a world enormously farther from us in culture than Europe; at the same time it is a world deeply and dynamically closer to us than Europe. This is a paradox—a truth, that is, hidden under divergent symptoms. And the best way to get at it is to know the differences: which means, first of all, to cut beneath the rhetoric and sentimentalism, vague or vicious, that are supposed to "unite," but merely dupe, us.

*Ethnic:* Our dominant stock, of course, is European; our minor elements were Europeanized before they came here (like the Jews), or are held in strict subjection (like the Negroes), or are long since nullified (like the Indians). The ethnic scheme south is infinitely more complex, not only because of the many strains which have been kept culturally alive, but because these strains have created new ones with new psychological traits. In Mexico, Central America, except Costa Rica, and the Andean countries, the mestizos and Indians are dominant. Along the Pacific coast down to Chile, mixtures of Negro with Indian (*zambo*) and of Negro with mestizo (*cholo*) have significantly shared in history and culture. And in Brazil a new Afro-Creole race that is neither Negro nor Portuguese shapes the life and, although it has not yet wrested political power from the "Aryan" minority centered in six southern states, *must rule the destiny*—if it is to be more than colonial—of the vast nation. None of the important countries is predominantly Western European except Chile and Argentina; and even here there are significant suffused non-European forces. The Chilean temperament, for instance, reveals traits of the Auracana Indians—as distinct from the Indians of Argentina as the Andes from the pampa; the Negro strain in Buenos Aires, entirely assimilated because never suppressed, continues to nourish and form the people in that profoundest of folk-dances and folk-complines, the tango. (I am not referring to the corrupt concoctions of our radio and night clubs.)

* This is the fourth and last of a series of essays on A New World Literature. The other three were contributed by eminent writers of America South.

*Cultural:* Our country's culture stems from the late stages of the English Protestant Reformation and its bastard children—empirical rationalism and the Industrial Revolution. It has, therefore, in the main, the traits of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and is indigenous to our dominant race. The culture of America Hispana, in so far as it is European, derives from the Catholic Renaissance of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Hispana (the term includes Portugal); in energy and values it is a direct transplantation of Queen Isabel's crusade against the Moors. It is therefore much older and enormously different. But its European parts were at once complicated by the deep Indian cultures closer to Asia than to Europe—Aztec, Toltec, Maya, Chibcha, Quechua, Aymara—which the Conquistadores encountered from Mexico to north Chile and Argentina. Even this is too simple. The effect of Protestantism, which soon made alliance with empirical rationalism, was to suppress ethnic intuitions and personal emotions that did not conform with the march of the pioneer. The Hispanic Renaissance, although it conquered, at the same time preserved and transfigured.

Strictly speaking, there are no true survivals of Indian cultures, even in the remotest Andes; there are *transformed* beginnings of a culture with Indian and Catholic roots. Neither Spain nor pre-Conquest America exists in America Hispana. This holds with the Negro elements. The blacks, for instance, who fought in the wars of independence against Spain were already American; the "African" note in arts as distinct as the intellectual prose of Cuba, the folk-music of Brazil, the courtly verse of Peru, is not to be found in Africa. A unique virtue of Hispanic imperialism, setting it high above that of Britain, was that its ruthless "charity of the sword" kept alive, in new forms, the intuitions and spiritual tongues of the conquered and exploited peoples.

*Geographical:* There were other complications. Our Thirteen Colonies were a comparatively flat and friendly expanse of temperate forest and low mountain. The men who settled there, and on the way had to fight Indians of low resistance, took two and a half centuries to reach the Pacific. The Spaniards—they were ahead of the Portuguese in sailing from the Andes down the Amazon—in fifty years flung their passionate search from Chile to California. And they were opposed not only by stubborn

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native cultures that submitted and never surrendered but by some of the vastest mountains, jungles, and deserts in the world. Still another barrier opposed them: the stern purpose of the mother country to prevent colonial intercommunication. Each colony was dependent on the metropolis and otherwise self-sufficient. And within each frontier were these huge accumulations of conflict—ethnic, cultural, economic, enhanced by natural divisions.

*Psychological:* As the new generations were born, *all these conflicts came to be stratified within every individual.* This is a point difficult, yet absolutely essential, for us to grasp. A citizen of Mexico, Brazil, Peru, may be of "pure" Hispanic descent or "pure" Indian; he may be entirely of West European stock (Italo-Hispanic-German). He has nevertheless within him the whole complexity of his country and his continent. Past differences of race, religion, culture, have become actively present traits in a new human nature.

*Political:* By 1776, within our comparatively simple, expanding world, the people were divided into three great sections: the North with its free-labor farms and free-artisan towns; the slave-planter South; and the frontier. It took less than three generations to fuse them in the final act of civil war. Cultural homogeneity had already long been more than potential. Our entire people, able to read the same papers and listen to the same speeches, going to churches whose variety canceled them into impotence against the prevailing economic trend, was ready for political democracy. And with the directly inherited political genius and empirical philosophy of Britain, they got it. The revolutions from Mexico to La Plata were bewilderingly different, and far less simple. True democracy is a goal inherent in the aims of a literate, economically integrated, culturally harmonious people. We were not ready for it in 1776, nor have we achieved it now—nor ever will achieve it until we outlive *both* our economic system and our shallow vision of life. But the main elements were there, and had been prepared by two centuries of simple growth. The trend was in us. Britain was preventing a homogeneous people from going ahead. Our revolution freed us so the trend *toward integration* could proceed. The revolutions south freed the people *into chaos.* Spain, with her iron laws that forbade trade except from each colony to her, with her controlled church that fought the contact of the native clergy with the people, with her clumsy military rule, was holding the peoples from what had to be their first stage of growth: acceptance of the turmoil and conflicts within them. Worlds are born from chaos. And this was literally a new world in the making. America Hispana had to be free of Spain and Portugal in order to enter into the creativity of chaos.

And now another tragic paradox. The Hispanic colonies, boiling over with unsolved problems of religious, economic, and social life, had to take on some political form. None of their own was ready. They accepted the political design imposed on them by their soldiers, who, unlike ours, were political romanticists and idealists schooled largely by *our* statesmen. Our republic from the start was an organic form in which we proceeded to grow up. Their republic, at best, was a defensive armor against reaction—a theoretic form in which the people could at least begin to work out their chaos.

### THE CENTURY OF THE MESTIZO

This is the key to the first century of the southern republics. We might call it the "century of chaos," if the thousand proofs were clear to us that this is a chaos pregnant of a great world. I prefer "the century of the mestizo," because the mestizo, born of the marriage of Spain and Amerindia, is the incarnate symbol of this creative chaos. Not everyone has liked this term; and when I first used it in my book "America Hispana" many a critic from Mexico to Argentina objected. Of course, there are whole nations, among the most important, with little mestizo trace; and there are other mixtures. But in the dynamic character of the marriage of the European with the Indian girl—a union part lust, part tenderness, part devil, and part Christ—I see the perfect symbol for the inward complexity of all Hispano-Americans, and of their first century of independence.

The reader must not suppose that this chaotic gestation period—a very brief one, in view of the immensely complex elements involved—had no cultural fruits, no moments of political peace. There were significant arts in the republics; fascinating projections of the high genius of colonial and pre-colonial days. And lands as remote as Mexico and Argentina produced successful statesmen. But the expression was of primitive parts of the whole, as the folk music and dance, or of simplifications of the chaos, as the work of a Juárez in Mexico, of a Sarmiento in Argentina. Neither in its political nor in its cultural life was America Hispana ready before our generation to come to grips with its whole self as an organic, potentially integral culture.

The world of the Hispano-American writers is still largely this "century of the mestizo." Nevertheless, their *essential* conditions for work are better than ours. For these reasons among others: *a.* The Catholic culture creates an atmosphere of respect for literature and art that was already waning in Britain at the time of Swift. *b.* It impregnates the people with that tragic sense of life, inherent in all great art (including comedy), which our sleazy eighteenth- and nineteenth-century optimism rubbed out; and with a receptivity to general ideas conspicuous for its absence in our historians, our critics, our anti-philosophical philosophers. *c.* Most important of all, it prepares the mind to conceive life as organic and whole. *d.* This Catholic attitude survives the Catholic faith (not many of the best writers of America Hispana have been

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church members; most, even in the nineteenth century, were radicals or socialists) and harmonizes with the intuitive values of the Indian and mestizo peasant, with the pantheism and aesthetic genius of the pre-Conquest cultures. From all this is derived a fact of paramount importance: the Hispano-American student can *speak* with the illiterate peasant. In the knowledge of the unity and of the tragedy of life, in the knowledge of the immediate conduits between the self, the soil, and the cosmos, peon and intellectual are close together. This knowledge, the source of all aesthetic work, prepares the Hispano-American writer for the overwhelming problems of his people, and tends to humanize and deepen his adaptation of economic and political creeds from Europe.

On the other hand, as both Sánchez and Mallea made clear in their essays, the *environmental* condition of the Hispano-American writer is far worse than ours. The peasant, although instinctively and spiritually close, cannot read him; the lack of communication which, until the airplane, made the shortest line between Mexico and Panama run through New York, often restricts his public to a few friends within his own frontiers.* Only Brazil and Argentina have thus far produced writers, not the best, who can live by their literary work. Every good Hispano-American writer is a journalist, a professor, a lawyer, a government clerk—unless fame gives him a consular or diplomatic position.

But, on the other side of the picture, every educated man in America Hispana tries to be a writer. The poetic ferment has been stupendous. I am no statistician, but I'll wager that more little sheaves of verse are published in a year in America Hispana than in England and the United States in a lustrum. Most of it, of course, appears in humble, privately printed volumes; but if little is important, surprisingly little is emotionally or technically dead. And from this ferment has issued the greatest poetry of the Western Hemisphere.

José Hernández in 1872 created "Martín Fierro," the rebellious epic of the gaucho against "respectable" Buenos Aires over which the schoolmaster genius, D. F. Sarmiento, author of "Facundo," was presiding. "Martín Fierro" is the best modern folk poem in the world; to find its equal one must go back to the dawns of English, Spanish, and German narrative verse. A generation later, Rubén Darío appeared in Nicaragua, possibly the one poet of indubitable first world rank that the Americas have produced.

Novels and tales are also often privately printed, and of late years have become a flood almost equaling the verse. So that it might be said that America Hispana has had more writers than readers. It has no novel equal in depth and furious power to "Moby Dick"; no colossus of virtuosity like the later Henry James. But it has far more profoundly expressed the frontier. Our best in that field, I suppose, is "Huckleberry Finn." Compare it with "Don Segundo Sombra," by the Argentine Guïraldes. Here too is the tale of a boy, wandering, not down a symbolic river, but on horseback through the pampa. His companions, instead of being adults of equally infantile soul and mind, are gauchos of whom the leader is a noble, unsentimental man whose great dignity, without transcending the rough terms of frontier life, reveals the depth of the potential American culture.*

### THE ORGANIC CENTURY

History, needing dates, may say that the "century of the mestizo" began to die about 1910. The Mexican Revolution under political leaders like Madero, Carranza, Obregón, and, greatest of all, Lázaro Cárdenas, under cultural leaders like Vasconcelos, Manuel Gamio, Reyes, Rivera, Orozco, Siqueiros, Chávez, Revueltas, marks the beginning of an organic movement that has its counterpart in other nations—for instance, in Argentina, under President Hipólito Irigoyen. The reader will have noted the difference in the generations of poets described by Reyes and Mallea. For a Darío the abyss was too huge between the chaotic actuality and the ideal forced on his world by the romantic soldiers—of whom Bolívar was only the greatest among many. Hence literary power took a perpendicular and prophetic trajectory. With the generation of Pablo Neruda, the creative energy tends to suffuse and illumine the daily life of the people.

In the literary art most dependent on an immediate audience, the drama, America Hispana barely begins—in Buenos Aires, as was to be expected. In criticism the lack of communication between artist and readers has worked a havoc of false perspectives almost as bad as, with us, the atmosphere of ballyhoo and the refusal to face life in its depths, which are at once unitary, tragic, and divine. Nevertheless, men of creative critical power appeared in the "century of the mestizo"; and always they were men of action. In Argentina there were Alberdi, Sarmiento, the socialist Estebán Echeverría. Peru at the close of the nineteenth century produced the socialist poet Manuel González Prada. In Cuba, José Martí and Enrique José Varona; in Puerto Rico, Eugenio María de Hostos, inspired a whole generation of keen historical and cultural critics. Mexico gave, among others, José Vasconcelos, who, as Secretary of Education under Obregón, was midwife to a painters' renascence, founded the still thriving rural schools, and wrote books whose passionate amalgam of Christian, Hindu, and socialist ideas made him a leader of youth in all America Hispana, until his political ambitions betrayed him. From Colombia came the essayist Baldamiro Sanín Cano, spreading, not only

* Until very recently most of the bookshops in all the great cities were owned by Spaniards of the sort who sided with Franco; who, encouraging the sale of books from Spain, refused their shelves to the works of even neighboring countries. Of the many forces that struggle against this poor intellectual circulation, one deserves to be singled out: *El Repertorio Americano*, the weekly journal published for years by Joaquín García Monge in San José de Costa Rica.

* An adequate translation of "Don Segundo Sombra" has been published by Farrar and Rinehart.

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with his works but with his warm personal contacts as a diplomatic envoy, his noble continental vision. Finally Peru produced a man whom Mallea might have named, even if he did not live to carry out his promise. José Carlos Mariátegui (1895-1930) wrote in "Siete Ensayos de Interpretación de la Realidad Peruana" a treasure store and a model of revolutionary American criticism. His awareness of the primacy of religious, aesthetic, and psychological factors in the organic problem of social reconstruction teaches a lesson that our socialists and liberals have yet to learn.

THE COMMON GROUND

The three earlier articles in this series have shown that, despite barriers and divisions, a deep common spirit unites the writers of America Hispana and makes of their works a common ground. Identity of problems and of aims has preestablished harmony between them. Even in mood, they are brothers. They share the dilemma of the rifts between ancient religious and modern political-economic needs; they share confusion within ethnic contrasts and an unwieldy opulent world that is overborne and menaced, more than ever, by foreign lusts; they share the sense of destiny—to create a true new world—and bewilderment before the enormous forces, internal and external, they must master to create it.

This harmony of the Hispano-American writers reveals a basic harmony with ours. (I have meant, throughout, of course, by *writers* the creative men, the artists, the knowers, the seers; not the clowns, the "informers," the dealers in slick shoddy who crowd every modern literary market.) No wonder the writers of the South read Jefferson, Whitman, Emerson, Thoreau, as soon as ours. And we too, like them, have our voiceless masses struggling for a true new world, although the jungle that overwhelms us is the jungle of the machine, the jungle voice of radio-movie-journal. And our masses are even more remote from our writers than the illiterate Indians of the Andes are from the makers of their potential Word. So the circle closes: harmony between our writers and theirs; harmony between our publics, who can know themselves and each other chiefly through the writers. Here is the body of a true alliance.

The Hispano-American writer has his enemies chiefly at home (this must not be forgotten: foreign imperialisms can never succeed without domestic allies). They are the same categories there as here: the foes, aggressive or implicit, of creative experience and creative thinking; the exploiters, the money-men, the political lackeys, the professional and professorial parasites, the prostitute-artists. In America Hispana you will find them, as here, in the usual places of power—from government bureau to rich journal, from church to school. There as here they are the rule, with occasional illustrious exceptions.

Most of our efforts for "better inter-American relations," including plans for defense against Europe's fascist forces, have been negotiations between members of these suspect categories: between men and institutions who stand *between* and implicitly *against* the interests of the peoples. Hispano-American business men and politicians are just as little concerned for the happiness and health of their people as are our own business men and politicians. But men of these categories in the southern republics will go along with their North American brothers as long as the going is good. If Hitler loses, if the United States emerges as the dominant power in an Anglo-Saxon axis, they will come to us anyway; and we could have saved our money. If Hitler wins, or a fascist Europe, our money is wasted. Facts—facts of trade and price, in so far as they mean pesos in the pocket—are what count with these minorities; even as dollars, and the power of which the dollar is the symbol, are what count with the oligarchy that sits firm in the American saddle. And let us not fool ourselves: in so far as men of these categories in *both Americas* are concerned with ideology at all, their hearts belong to reaction, even though they fight Hitler: they distrust democracy, even though they quote Jefferson and Bolívar.

Our true allies in America Hispana are the people; and their true spokesmen are the writers. Our efforts to make alliance with them, to undertake nutritive exchange with them, have been criminally weak. In this urgent need America Hispana has been more advanced than we. Its writers have learned from our teachers, have been nourished by our poets. They have shown aptitude and capacity to digest our strengths, far beyond ours even to guess at their values. Perhaps this is only natural, since their life is rooted in deeper cultures; since, for all their divisions, they have been far less disintegrated by the machine—or rather by our shallow philosophies that let the machine be master—and have preserved far better the contact with self, with soil, and with the people that is life and the beginning of wisdom. But it is time we did something about it.

## The Trinity of Materialism

*DARWIN, MARX, WAGNER: CRITIQUE OF A HERITAGE.* By Jacques Barzun. Little, Brown and Company. $2.75.

MR. BARZUN has a lively, learned, and catalytic mind. This he uses, as he uses intellectual history, as an instrument for contemporary understanding and criticism. He is not simply a historian; he is obviously greatly concerned with the incidence of past ideas in present consequences. He is not a dazed admirer of grandiose nations—quite the contrary. He is never dazed by, and always skeptical of, the pompously systematic. He is patently interested in distinguishing the ancestry and lineaments of ideas from the cloud-cuckoo land of their popularizers and of their fanatic descendants. Many readers will recall Mr. Barzun's aseptic

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inquiry into influential nonsense in his book on "Race," and his eloquent historical analysis of the intellectual requisites for liberty in his book "Of Human Freedom."

In this book on Darwin, Marx, and Wagner the author examines, with no less remarkable scope and detail than animation, three nineteenth-century figures. These three are, in his erudite and documented judgment, central as symptoms and as symbols, and decisive as influences in the patterns of both actions and ideas in our own day. Darwin, Marx, and Wagner are important, not because they were original or because any single work of theirs was a masterpiece. In Mr. Barzun's handling, all three men turn out to be strikingly derivative and suspiciously second-rate. Not one of the three is a "hero" of the author's. His reasons for spending such loving care upon figures for whom he loses no love are those of a critic and a historian. The point is that, implicitly or explicitly, each of these three men has been the "hero" of a cult, and has, directly or indirectly, shaped the pattern of much that passes for "scientific ideas" in the last three-quarters of a century. Mr. Barzun clearly thinks it is high time that the isms which these three men propagated—though they did not originate them—be reexamined.

It should be stressed at once, especially because at first sight Wagner seems to fall oddly into this trio, that Darwin, Marx, and Wagner are, for Professor Barzun, three facets of the same tendency, three variations on a common and dangerous nineteenth-century theme, the worst consequences of which are with us still. They are responsible, in considerable measure, for our heritage of confusions, fanaticisms, and despairs. It is a tribute to the author's cogent marshaling of unassailable materials that by the end of the book one wonders why no one earlier discerned with such revealing clarity the common atmosphere which these men breathed, the identic idols which, for all their differences, they worshiped.

The unity of which this trinity are the expressions is Science, with a capital S, and Science as System, as Necessity, as Truth, with the implication of a fatal necessity and an unmanageable progress. "Science" revealed to Marx the "laws" of history which determine the process out of which the classless society was to emerge.

> Darwinism yielded its basic law, and its name, when viewed historically, was Progress. All events had physical origins; physical origins were discoverable by science; and the method of science alone could, by revealing the nature of things, make the mechanical sequences of the universe wholly benevolent to man.

Mr. Barzun's summary of the Wagnerian idea is an example of his brilliant condensation:

> . . . the pattern is the same. Art has its evolution, which follows the development of races and nations, the progress of culture ultimately requiring the union of the arts in a popular synthesis of sociological import. The "Ring" accordingly celebrates in turn the superman-to-be, the fall of the old gods through the curse of gold, and the triumph of Germanism, in one long tale of blood, lust, and deceit. The individual meanwhile finds surcease from a harsh world in the music drama which was the goal of the Greeks, and, dimly, of a few moderns now surpassed.

In Darwin "history was a sieve that worked. Man was the residue." In Marx the sieve was history too; "the proletarian Utopia was the residue." Similarly in Wagner, but here the residue was "the artwork of the future," Wagner's own grandiose term for his own work.

These conclusions—they occur in pages 351 to 355 of a four-hundred-page work—are the distinctive contribution of the book, an ordering not into a system but into a clear point of view of biography, history, methodological analysis, and aesthetic criticism. To these conclusions are added certain consequences. These three men invented slogans which are in our mouths, and their slogans had many sources and one character: that character was, in an age of materialism and machinery, the predominant faith in mechanical law and in a fatal burgeoning of history in terms of these mechanical laws.

Much of the book consists of highly entertaining and edged pictures of these three teachers and their doctrines, their personal histories and the sources of many of their alleged originalities in thought. These provocative sketches do not add, and are not intended to add, cubits to the stature of any of the three men. But the book, like "Of Human Freedom," is in a high sense a tract for the times. The conception of Progress in the fatal and external terms of "mechanical law" has led, as Professor Barzun sees it, to many grave distortions. It has distracted us from the really fruitful business of specific inquiry into the diversity of processes natural and human. It has clamped down on the minds of men reasons for despair that flow from the fatal necessities of science, allegedly discovered, but really self-imposed. It has generated dogmatisms of race and nationalism and waves of a future dialectically guaranteed. It has substituted system for inquiry in science, pseudo-science for flexible understanding in society, and elaborate contraptions and devices for genuine and organically living art. And we are paying for these things in brutality in world politics, enthroned obscurantism in science, and pastiche deceptions in art.

The elevation of scientific system, moreover, has blinded us to the insights provided by the great romantics, because we have been taught by alleged realists to ignore their awareness of the interior realities of feeling and of thought. One of the most interesting and original themes of this book is that of the close affinity between the celebration of all diversities of experience in the romantic poets, painters, and musicians, and the pragmatic emphasis on the many kinds of things current, and the many kinds of dealings with them necessary, in the world.

In the interest of making Mr. Barzun's theme briefly clear, I have been compelled to omit much: the happy and encyclopaedic range of illustration, the shrewd analysis of the Marxian theory of surplus value, the engaging malice of the epigrams, the obvious passion for human individuality and for human freedom, the contempt for fake "culture," and the fresh, non-idolatrous critiques of the three non-heroes. There are pictures, too, of the author's own heroes, too long, he thinks, obscured: Lamarck, Samuel Butler, and Berlioz, among others. Those who think these choices for admiration are reactionary or obscurantist show themselves particularly in need of this book. Those who have mouthed slogans as science, dialectic as discovery, and artifice as art need it even more.

IRWIN EDMAN

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# Moscow Purge

*DARKNESS AT NOON.* By Arthur Koestler. Translated by Daphne Hardy. The Macmillan Company. $2.50.

"THE cell door slammed behind Rubashov." Thus bluntly, with the slam of a prison door, begins the grimly absorbing story of N. S. Rubashov, former member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, former Commissar of the People, former division commander in the Revolutionary Army, presently to be purged for the greater glory of the U. S. S. R. because of his lack of enthusiasm for the policies of "No. 1." It closes no less bluntly: "A second, smashing blow hit him on the ear. Then all became quiet. There was the sea again with its sounds. A wave slowly lifted him up. It came from afar and traveled sedately on, a shrug of eternity."

Between this beginning and this ending lies a compelling narrative, told with an appearance of detachment that masks Mr. Koestler's acute sense of the irony of history as revealed in the notorious Moscow trials and the events that led up to them. Details from the lives of many of the Communist leaders who publicly confessed to egregious crimes against the state and went to their death are doubtless mingled in the career of Comrade Rubashov, who was guilty of no treason except the heinous crime of independent thought and of occasionally wishing that the state did not have to crush so ruthlessly every individual who did not jibe with its pattern. But the exquisite irony of his case, aside from his complete innocence of the charges brought against him, lies in the fact that his own logical, realistic mind has convinced him that all opposition elements, including himself, must be annihilated without regard to the sincerity or the degree of the opposition. His own fate, since the party naturally could never admit that it had made a mistake in arresting him, hinges on an almost academic question: Should he sign a "confession" of crimes he never committed and, by a show of abject repentance, bolster the faith and morale of the people, or should he indulge in the bourgeois whim of retaining his individual integrity and thus force the state to deal with him "administratively"—in other words, to have him shot secretly rather than executed by public decree?

Since the steps by which he resolves this quandary *are* the story, I shall not give away the answer here. But don't think that Rubashov's predicament is any the less agonizing for being a Hobson's choice; even the shrewdness with which he reasons out his position in relation to the state and to "No. 1" does not disguise the fact that he is, after all, a human being who, all other things being equal, would rather live than die. By deft, dramatic touches the writer indues the whole proceedings with a stark, grotesque reality, leaving etched on the mind the feel and smell of the prison and sharply outlined portraits of various men with whom Rubashov comes in contact: the examining magistrate and his cold-blooded assistant, the jailer, several fellow-prisoners, one of whom Rubashov never sees but only communicates with by tapping out a code upon a steam pipe. The most amazing thing about the book, in fact, is the austere economy with which Mr. Koestler has compressed one of the most crucial dilemmas of totalitarian political philosophy into a compact, meaty novel of less than 270 pages, presenting at once a vividly conceived personal tragedy and an ideological conflict of the first magnitude.

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# An Exposure of Big Business

*BIG BUSINESS, EFFICIENCY, AND FASCISM.* By Kemper Simpson. Harper and Brothers. $2.50.

THIS little book is a "must" for persons interested in economic reorganization. It is a popularization and amplification of a study, "Relative Efficiency of Large, Medium-Sized, and Small Business," made by the Federal Trade Commission under Mr. Simpson's direction and issued by the Temporary National Economic Committee. The conclusions, supported by convincing statistical data covering both capital-goods and consumer-goods industries, are important. The "efficiency" argument used to justify big corporations has been highly exaggerated; it is not their efficiency, by and large, that gives them dominance but their financial strength, their power to suppress competition, their use of government influence. In terms of costs and of their willingness to use new processes and to expand, as well as in other respects, the most efficient enterprises in most American industries are often of medium or small size. A big corporation may get advantages over a smaller concern which is just as efficient by spending a lot of money on advertising. And the big corporations do not necessarily pay the highest wages. The highest wages in the automobile industry are paid by the smallest and least integrated of the big four—Chrysler; the lowest by the second largest and most integrated—Ford.

Mr. Simpson's introductory argument relates big business to fascism in three ways: big business prevents a solution of the economic crisis that gives fascism its chance to get power; it directly helps fascism by giving financial support to its struggle for power; and fascism uses the monopoly relations of big business to build the corporate state. All this is true, but Mr. Simpson has not observed that fascism destroys capitalism as it consolidates its power. Nor do I believe that his suggested solution, the restoration of competition within capitalism, is a feasible one. But the problem of size which his discussion illuminates is important from the angle of both efficiency and democracy. Any program of economic reorganization and planning must include measures to break up the larger units and strengthen the smaller—to make

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them more efficient and to bring them closer to democratic control. The problem, as we move toward a regulated economy, is so to arrange institutions that the largest amount of economic freedom flourishes within the framework of limited socialization and planning. LEWIS COREY

## Africa from the Skies

*FOCUS ON AFRICA.* By Richard Upjohn Light. Photographs by Mary Light. American Geographical Society. $5.

THIS book is a record in words and pictures of an air journey from Cape Town to Cairo during which Dr. Light handled the controls and kept the log while his wife doubled as camera man and radio operator. But it is a good deal more than that, for these travelers observed Africa through wide-angled lenses with a scope beyond the merely scenic. They brought back magnificent pictures of the great mountain ranges of Central Africa, particularly of Kilimanjaro and the Ruwenzori range, the latter seldom photographed from the air because most of the year it is covered with heavy cloud. Their portfolio includes also some fine shots of big game. But most of the pictures illustrate the geography of the terrain covered and the social and economic problems of the peoples who inhabit it. So, too, Dr. Light in his text refers continually to water supply and soil erosion, to land settlement, native agriculture, health, and education. These questions all impinge on Africa's struggle to maintain a balance between an expanding population and a declining fertility. As Dr. Isaiah Bowman says in his short but thought-provoking foreword: "To put the matter in extreme form: if millions are saved from tribal war, malaria, and tsetse fly, only to be permitted to die of starvation, the controlling white has not improved the status of the population; he has only changed the categories of the vital statistics."

Dr. Light provides some interesting data on the tsetse-control work being carried on in Tanganyika. The methods employed include destruction of the bush which harbors the fly, but which also serves to anchor the soil. Removal of the fly brings the land into cultivation, for people crowd in from adjacent infested areas. Hence it is essential to carry on a simultaneous program of education in soil conservation.

Many devoted scientists and administrators, to some of whom we are introduced in these pages, are working on such African problems. But lack of men and money prohibits any long-range or inclusive program to reestablish on humanitarian lines a balance once crudely but effectively maintained by nature. Until far higher standards of education are introduced, the soil in most parts of Africa will not produce much more than subsistence for the native population. The exploitation of mineral wealth, on the other hand, does create a surplus for capital investment, though most of this now drains into the pockets of absentee owners. Britain has adopted the principle of trusteeship in relation to its African empire, and impartial witnesses, such as the Lights, offer evidence that this principle is not merely honored in the breach. But if it is to be fully implemented, Britain will have to recapture for the native population the continent's capital fund—its mineral resources. KEITH HUTCHISON

## PUBLISHED THIS WEEK

*MICHIGAN.* American Guide Series. Oxford. $3.

*HONORABLE ENEMY.* By Ernest Hauser. Duell, Sloan, and Pearce. $2.50.

*GENERAL WASHINGTON'S CORRESPONDENCE CONCERNING THE SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI.* Edited by Lieutenant-Colonel Edgar Erskine Hume. Johns Hopkins. $4.50.

*EDITH CAVELL.* By Helen Judson. Macmillan. $2.50.

*THE MANYOSHU.* One Thousand Poems Selected and Translated from the Japanese. University of Chicago. $7.50.

*AMERICAN RENAISSANCE.* By F. O. Matthiessen. Oxford. $5.

*THE ARMED FORCES OF THE PACIFIC.* By W. D. Puleston. Yale. $2.75.

*BELLE STARR: "THE BANDIT QUEEN."* By Burton Rascoe. Random House. $3.

*DEMOCRACY'S BATTLE.* By Francis Williams. Viking. $2.75.

## CONTRIBUTORS

WILLIAM SHIRER, Berlin correspondent of the Columbia Broadcasting System, will soon publish his "Berlin Diary: The Journal of a Foreign Correspondent, 1934-1941."

JOACHIM JOESTEN is an exiled German journalist.

RAOUL AGLION was formerly legal attaché in the French legation at Cairo. He has in preparation a book entitled "War in the Desert."

WALDO FRANK is the author of "America Hispana—a Portrait and a Prospect," of which a new, inexpensive edition has been recently brought out under the title "South of Us."

IRWIN EDMAN, professor of philosophy at Columbia University, is the author of "Philosopher's Holiday."

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# FILMS

## Pan-Americana

*Hollywood, May 14*

AT A recent showing of the musical film "Argentine Nights" in Buenos Aires, the audience rioted in protest at Hollywood's representation of Argentinian customs, and further performances of the film were banned. The industry has responded to this and similar little hints by announcing the imminent release of another batch of musicals with a Latin American background, bearing such titles as "The Man from Brazil," "Carnival in Rio," and "Down Mexico Way." Apparently it is hoped that with increased research and more authentic touches of local color Hollywood's comic-opera conception of Latin Americans will win their appreciation. Meanwhile, John Hay Whitney, head of the Motion Picture Division of the Council of National Defense and expert on South American relations, is suggesting that certain films about unpleasant aspects of American life are most unsuitable for South American consumption. "The Grapes of Wrath," for instance, and "Mr. Smith Goes to Washington" he considers dangerous implements for Nazi agents and poor publicity for the United States. As a precautionary measure he suggests an "export control," operated either by the Hays office or the Whitney committee, to supervise the sale of productions to Latin America. Since South America is the only large foreign market now available to the industry, any kind of export control could be pretty effectively used for home as well as foreign censorship, and the idea seems thoroughly suspect.

RECENT FILMS

Joan Crawford has bravely taken the step which in Hollywood leads to heavy dramatics for life and the Academy Award: she appears in "A Woman's Face" with her beauty considerably, though temporarily, marred. It was Bette Davis in "Marked Woman" who first discovered the full dramatic impact of a distorted visage, though compared to Miss Crawford, who plays through half the picture with only one good profile, she was positively half-hearted. The horrid scar which Miss Crawford carries is the result of a childhood burn, and had she not had a nasty fall in the operating theater of a brilliant plastic surgeon (Melvyn Douglas) whose wife she is attempting to blackmail, she would have remained scarred both mentally and physically for life. The remainder of this melodramatic tale concerns regeneration by kindness, and the struggle between Good (Melvyn Douglas) and Evil (Conrad Veidt) for possession of Miss Crawford's embittered soul. Miss Crawford appears to have a poor choice: Good is rather a bore, and Evil is suffering from the new cinematic form of megalomania, the Hitler complex, and confesses in the final sequences to an overwhelming desire to rule Sweden. The story is enlivened by a good deal of action and excitement, including attempted murder, a chase by sleigh, and sudden death. Miss Crawford certainly has no need of a facial disfigurement to prove herself a talented actress.

For those who find badinage amid falling bombs acceptable and in good taste, "One Night in Lisbon" should prove highly enjoyable; but they must be stubbornly xenophile as well, for the English as they are represented in this picture can be relied upon to alienate the most ardent affections. The title is really a little teasing, for the audience is not transported to Lisbon until the American aviator hero (Fred MacMurray) has extracted every ounce of fun there is to be had out of a London air raid—quite a lengthy process. Madeleine Carroll plays a coy but classy English miss who meets the aviator in an air-raid shelter and proceeds to defy convention and war-time regulations with amazing impunity. With the encouragement and cooperation of the British government she flies to Lisbon for the night to see the aviator off on his journey home and captures some spies on the side. For the purposes of this story the English people are divided firmly into two classes—titled folk plus their friends, and Cockneys who react to condescension like cats to valerian. It is to be hoped that not many people accept this reading of the English character; otherwise the Lease-Lend Act will shortly be in the waste-paper basket.

"Affectionately Yours" exploits the humor of a custard-pie two-reeler in a supposedly sophisticated setting. Merle Oberon and Dennis Morgan fall about and get wet with as much grace as possible, but the screen play touches a new low in poor dialogue and dull situations.

ANTHONY BOWER


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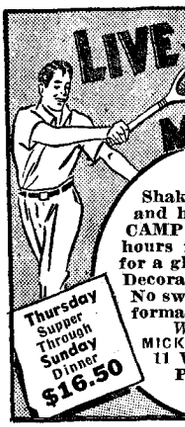

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# RECORDS

VICTOR has made a special release of a recording of the Prelude and Finale of "Tristan und Isolde" by Furtwängler with the Berlin Philharmonic (Set 653, $2.50). The performance is superb in sound and effect, and is superbly reproduced by the records.

This is the finest of Victor's May orchestral releases; but a good one (Set 769, $2.50) is Vaughan Williams's beautiful Fantasia On a Theme By Thomas Tallis for string orchestra, well recorded by Boult with the B. B. C. Symphony (the first side of my review copy wavers badly in pitch). And on one side of a single disc (13597, $1) is a good performance of Johann Strauss's waltz "Voices of Spring" by Szell and the Vienna Philharmonic, with the less enjoyable "Songs of the Danube" of Johann Strauss, Sr., played by the same orchestra under Alwin, on the reverse side.

The set (762, $4.50) of Brahms's Third Symphony made by Kindler with his National Symphony offers a richly sonorous recording of an expansively rhetorical performance that for the most part gives the work good effect of the expansively rhetorical kind, with a few instances of the apparently inevitable vulgar excesses of expansive rhetoric. I still prefer the effect of Weingartner's unrhetorically straightforward treatment of the work, and its freedom from vulgar excess.

Victor also offers a fine recording of what appears to be an excellent performance by Böhm with the Saxon State Orchestra of Bruckner's Fifth Symphony (Sets 770 and 771, $10). The point about this performance is that it gives us the work as Bruckner originally wrote it, without the changes and cuts by the Schalks and Loewe that were incorporated into the published score used in performances until now. And the point the Bruckner propagandists make is that a Bruckner symphony with these changes is like a Rembrandt with the additions of some well-meaning bungler; and that to go back to Bruckner's original is to remove the faults which have alienated listeners from the music and to reveal a beauty which they will now find irresistible. Years ago we were told the same thing about Mussorgsky's "Boris Godunov" without the alterations of Rimsky-Korsakov; and hearing a performance of the Mussorgsky original one did in fact hear at once—without having seen it on the printed page—what Rimsky had changed in melodic contours, harmonic texture, and everything else that contributed to essential emotional quality. The Bruckner propagandists now contend that one has merely to hear a Bruckner original to be struck in the same way by the differences from the altered Bruckner; but listening to these records of the Symphony No. 5 I have, on the contrary, been struck by the absence of any apparent difference from the ways of thinking that I have previously found boring and—after an hour of persistent symphonic pretentiousness and impotence—unendurable. I am therefore inclined to believe the writer—I think it was Herbert T. Peyser—who contended that these changes which the Brucknerites were making such a to-do about were in many instances the corrections in scoring and texture which a conductor suggests and a composer agrees to at rehearsals of a new work in order to produce the effects in actual sound which the composer has miscalculated on paper. As for the cuts, even Tovey, who is generously sympathetic to Bruckner, says of a cut made reluctantly by Bruckner himself, presumably at the suggestion of a conductor, that it removes a redundant passage and leaves a perfectly balanced movement. And I would suspect that other cuts were also made to correct the miscalculations of a man whose principle of large-scale construction seems to have been to keep shoveling in chunks of material until the desired huge dimensions had been reached.

The remaining orchestral releases from Victor comprise one of Brahms's dullest products, the Serenade No. 2, competently performed by an Alumni orchestra of the National Orchestral Association under Richard Korn, and well recorded (Set 774, $4); the collection of technical formulas and stylistic mannerisms that Debussy threw together into the incidental music for D'Annunzio's "Martyre de Saint-Sébastien," excellently recorded by the Paris Conservatory Orchestra under Coppola (Set 767, $2.50); and on a single disc (17900, $1) the lurid collection of sound-effects, including the inevitable gong dying out at the end, which Stokowski has made of Mussorgsky's "Night on Bald Mountain."

B. H. HAGGIN

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